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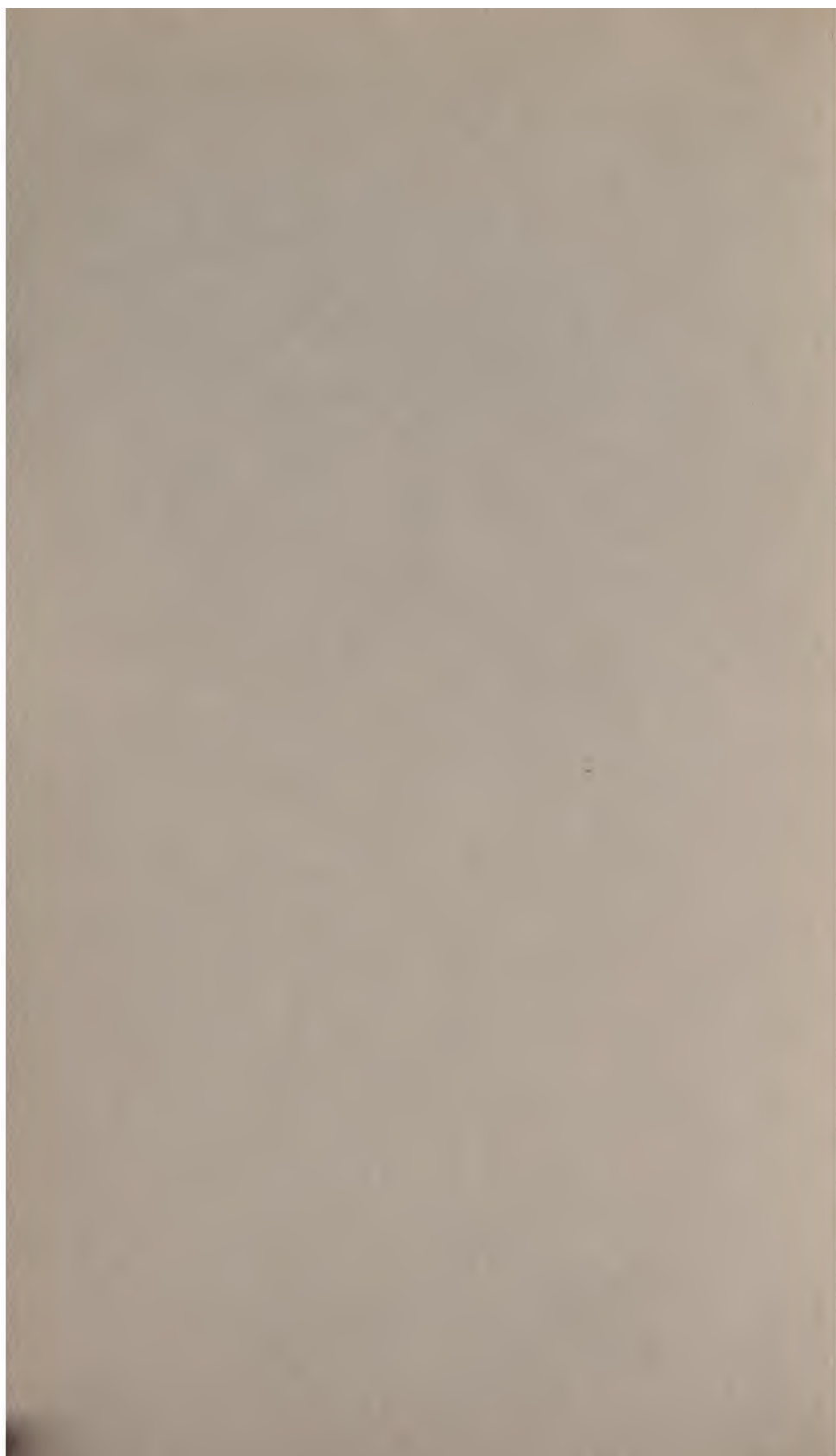


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AND THE *DECAMERON*

IN CASTILIAN AND CATALAN LITERATURE

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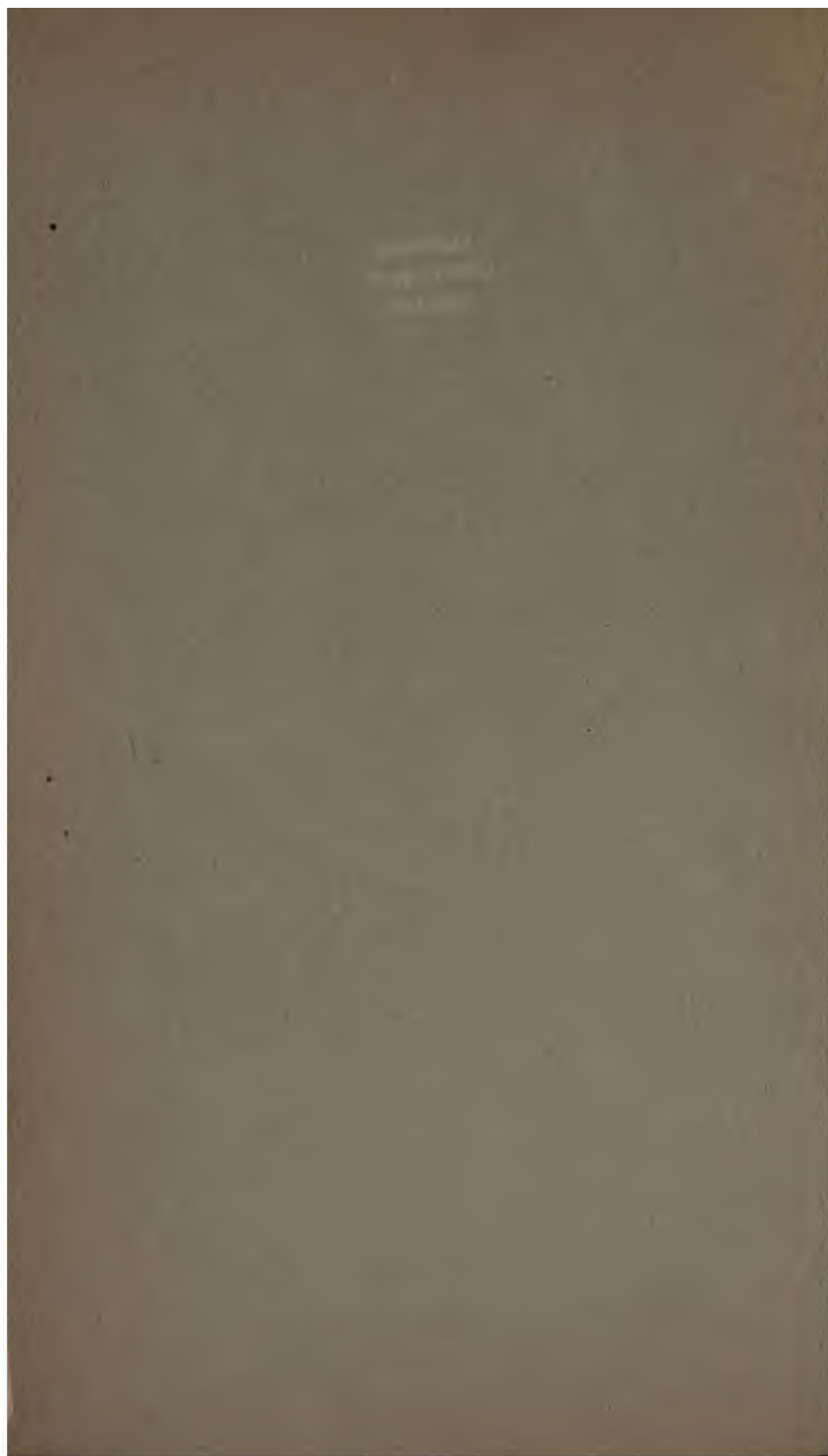
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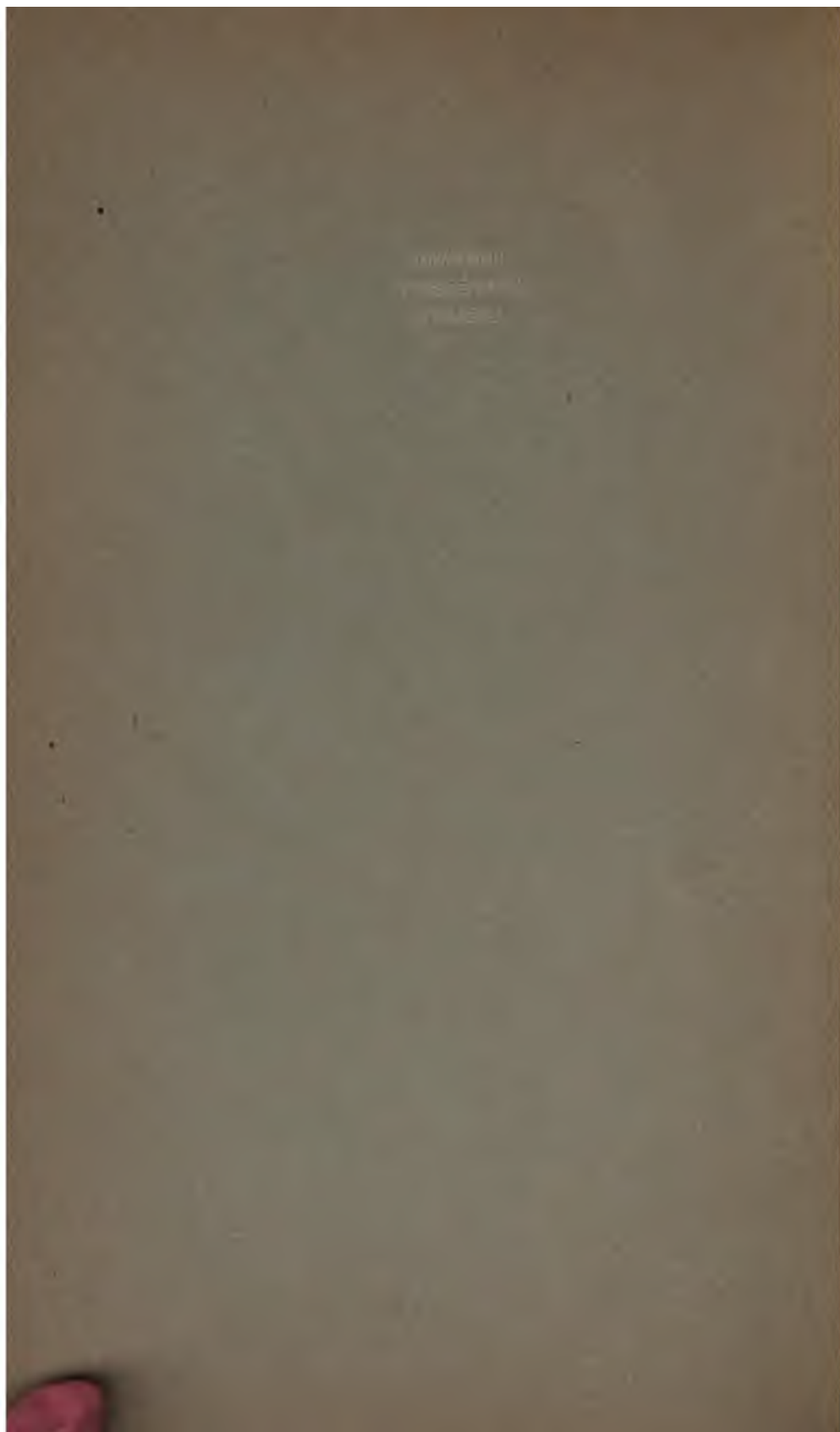
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**BOCCACCIO AND THE *DECAMERON***

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MACON, PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS

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C. B. BOURLAND

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BOCCACCIO  
AND THE *DECAMERON*  
IN CASTILIAN AND CATALAN LITERATURE

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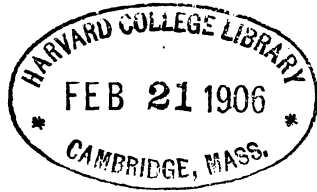
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Bryn Mawr College.

BOCCACCIO  
AND THE *DECAMERON*

IN

CASTILIAN AND CATALAN LITERATURE

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THESIS PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CAROLINE BROWN BOURLAND

1902





## PREFATORY NOTE

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Although I have limited myself in this dissertation to a relatively small division of the general topic of Boccaccio's influence upon Spanish literature, not every part of my subject has received the minute study it deserves. One of the main difficulties with which I have had to contend has been the scattered condition of material bearing upon my work. The only copy known to me of the second edition in Spanish (1524) of the *Decameron*, is in Florence. Other valuable material is not accessible outside of England, while many Spanish critics maintain that some papers essential to the final discussion of one of the *novelle* in its relation to Spanish literature are hoarded in the small Spanish town of Teruel.

Again, a ten months' stay in Madrid proved all too short to complete a search through the entire body of Spanish literature, from the fourteenth century to the present day, for reworkings or imitations of Boccaccio's stories. The field once examined in which imitations of the *Decameron* might naturally be looked for, patient

search through apparently less promising regions might bring to light many other evidences of Boccaccio's influence. Much, therefore, has no doubt escaped me, which a longer opportunity for study would have enabled me to find.

I am glad to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to the many persons whose interest in my work has been proved by their generous help.

Dr. F. De Haan, of Bryn Mawr College, suggested to me the subject of this dissertation and has given my work his supervision.

My gratitude is especially due in the next place to Mr. Isidro Bonsoms of Barcelona who put at my disposal his valuable Catalan manuscript translation of the *Decameron*, and I am also indebted to Mr. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Mr. Menéndez Pidal and Mr. Menéndez y Pelayo; Mr. Mario Schiff, Mr. Francisco de Bofarull and Mr. Massó Torrents, Mr. William Viennot, Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Mr. Benjamin P. Bourland, my brother, and to Mr. John D. Fitz-Gerald.

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# BOCCACCIO AND THE *DECAMERON*

## IN CASTILIAN AND CATALAN LITERATURE

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### INTRODUCTION.

The principal endeavor in this dissertation has been to trace the influence of the *Decameron* upon Spanish literature.

Although various scattered allusions to this subject may be found, and the derivation from the *Decameron* of several *novelas*, dramas and *romances* has been noted, no detailed study of the relation of Boccaccio's masterpiece to Spanish literature has, to my knowledge, ever been undertaken.

The question is, nevertheless, not without interest, for the investigation of it should contribute in some measure to our knowledge of comparative literature. The importance to Spanish letters of the other two great *Trecentisti* has been shown by some careful study. Amador de los Ríos, in his *Historia crítica de la literatura española*<sup>1</sup>, discusses at length the allegorical school of poetry in Spain; Menéndez y Pelayo devotes many pages of the prologues in his *Antología*<sup>2</sup> to a consideration of the same

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1. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*. Madrid, 1861-65; vol. VI, chap. viii; vol. VII, chap. xv, xvi, xix.

2. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. I-XI. Madrid, 1890-1903. *Prólogos*, vol. IV, pp. lxvii et sqq.; vol. V, pp. xiv et sqq.

matter. Vidal y Valenciano has written *Imitadores, traductores y comentadores españoles de la Divina Comedia*<sup>1</sup>, and Mario Schiff his excellent article, *La première traduction espagnole de la Divine Comédie*<sup>2</sup>.

The Petrarchists in Spain have been studied by Ríos<sup>3</sup>, by Fayos y Antoni, and by Rubió y Ors<sup>4</sup>.

But there is, to my knowledge, no one work occupied with the study of Boccaccio in Spanish literature. Besides a few monographs<sup>5</sup> dealing with special parts of the subject, and a small number of allusions to be found in general works upon literary history, we have only what Ríos has written in his *Historia crítica*<sup>6</sup>, a few paragraphs by Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>7</sup>, together

1. *Revista de España*, t. X, 1869; pp. 217-234, and 517-538.

2. *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo en el año vigésimo de su profesorado*. Madrid, 1899, 2 v. Vol. I, pp. 269 et sqq.

3. *l. c.*, vol. VI, chap. VII, pp. 15-21; chap. VIII; *Ilustraciones*, pp. 489-496.

4. *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. XXIV, 1894, p. 230, footnote 3: Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*. Madrid, 1883, t. I, vol. II, pp. 209-222. Cf. also *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla Letteratura spagnuola con appendici di documenti inediti. Saggio di Bernardo Sanvisenti*. Milano, 1902. This work appeared after the completion of my Ms.

5. Frdr. von Vestenholz, *Die Griseldissage in der Literaturgeschichte*, Heidelberg, 1888; Franz Xaver Wannemacher, *Die Griseldissage auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Strassburg, 1894; Charles Dejob, *La decima novella dell'ottava giornata del Decameron ed El anzuelo de Fenisa di Lope de Vega*. Cf. *Rassegna bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana*, anno I, n. 5; Rudolph Anschütz, *Boccaccio's Novelle vom Falken und ihre Verbreitung in der Litteratur. Nebst Lope de Vega's Komödie: El balcon de Federico*. Erlangen, 1892 (Erlanger Beiträge zur engl. Philologie vergleich. Litteraturgesch. Heft 13); W. Henry Schofield, *The Source and History of the Seventh Novel of the Seventh Day in the Decameron*. Boston, 1899 (Reprinted from *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. II, 1893).

6. *l. c.*, vol. V, ch. III, vol. VI, ch. VII, VIII, XI, XIX.

7. *Antologia*, vol. V, prólogo, pp. XIV, LXXX, et al.

with some notes and a bibliography of the Spanish editions of the Latin works, in the books of Attilio Hortis <sup>1</sup>.

Boccaccio's influence upon Spanish literature was, nevertheless, alike far-reaching and of long duration. To the Spanish moralists of the fifteenth century, Boccaccio is an authority; through Sannazaro, whose *Arcadia* goes back to Boccaccio's *Ameto*, he is the founder of the Pastoral Novel in Spain, while the Spanish Sentimental Novel springs directly from him. Mythological compilations were made in Spain only after his *De Genealogiis* was known there; Spanish dramatists drew upon him for their plots, and Spanish writers of short stories either appropriated bodily the *Novelle*, or adopted Boccaccio's general idea of arrangement in the *Decameron*, by putting a succession of dissimilar tales into the mouths of a number of narrators brought together by some especial occasion.

The influence of Boccaccio also extended over a long period of time, as may be judged by the fact that the greater part of *De Casibus* was translated before 1407, while we find Spanish reworkings of tales from the *Decameron* late in the seventeenth century. His importance to Spanish literature was, therefore, not slight, and the study of it is of interest and value. He had perhaps more influence as a humanist than as a *conteur*, yet when it is remembered that the « Fénix de España » drew inspiration from the *Decameron* and that Tirso de Molina has compared Cervantes to Boccaccio <sup>2</sup>, Spain's indebtedness to him as a story-teller should not be under-estimated.

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1. Attilio Hortis, *Le donne famose descritte da Giovanni Boccacci*. Trieste, 1877; Attilio Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste 1879, pp. 578, notes 2 and 3; 591; 605-609, 811, 842-846; 897.

2. Tirso de Molina in the *Cigarrales de Toledo* [año 1631, fol. 73] calls Cervantes " nuestro Español Boccaccio "; Francisco A. de Icaza in *Las novelas ejemplares de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 95 ff., establishes a long comparison between Cervantes and Boccaccio.

It is beyond the scope of the present subject to attempt a study of Boccaccio's whole influence upon Castilian and Catalan literatures, a topic that could be adequately treated only by one perfectly conversant, among other things, with the philosophical and didactic literature of Spain up to the fifteenth century. My sole effort has been to follow the history of the *Decameron* in Spain's literary development. This part of the general subject is in itself an entity, and can easily be separated from the broader question.

It must, however, be remembered, that Boccaccio's influence was not an isolated example of Italian influence in the neighboring peninsula, but, on the contrary, one expression of an important literary movement. Therefore, in order to put the author of the *Decameron* in his proper relation to the literature of Spain in the fifteenth century, I have prefaced the main part of my essay by a brief mention of some of the imitators of Dante and Petrarch in Spain in that century. The material for these introductory paragraphs has been gathered from the works of Ríos, Milá y Fontanals, Ticknor, Menéndez y Pelayo, and Farinelli <sup>1</sup>.

In addition, since to no student of the *Decameron* in Spain, can the fate of Boccaccio's other works in the same country be without interest, I have included some notes concerning the part played in Spanish literature by other writings of Boccaccio, but I have not attempted to follow their history beyond the close of the fifteenth century.

By describing the two known manuscripts (one Castilian and one Catalan) and the early Castilian editions of the *Decameron*; by pointing out the different short stories, *romances* and

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1. Ríos and Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.*; Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas* coleccionadas por D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Barcelona, 1890-1896; George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, 4<sup>th</sup> American edition, Boston, 1872. 3 vols; Arturo Farinelli, *Benedetto Croce, — Primi contatti fra Spagna e Italia*, *Giornale Storico*, vol. XXIV, pp. 202-231, 1894. I was unable to see Croce's monograph.

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dramas which owe their plot to Boccaccio's masterpiece; by an incomplete enumeration of the many volumes of *novelas* which imitate the plan of the Italian book, and by the citation of allusions in Spanish to Boccaccio and to the perfection of his art as a story-teller, I have undertaken to show in what form the *Decameron* first became known to the Spaniards in their own tongue, and how far it had an influence upon the literature of Spain.

#### I. RELATIONS BETWEEN ITALY AND SPAIN IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The great interest in Italian literature felt in Spain during the fifteenth century, as shown in the frequent adoption of Italian literary forms and the very abundant translations into Spanish of Italian books, was the natural consequence of long continued intercourse between the two countries. Nearly three centuries<sup>1</sup> of increasingly close relations between them had gradually prepared the way for the transmission of Italian thought to the western peninsula.

Spain had always considered herself foremost among the loyal daughters of the Roman Catholic Church, and though maintaining her political independence of the Papal See, had always looked to Rome as her spiritual head and guide. Moreover, she not only saw in the Italian capital the seat of her spiritual direction, but Italy through the latter part of the Middle Ages also represented to her the home of advanced intellectual life<sup>2</sup>. For while the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the foundation of many universities in Spain — those of Palencia in 1212, of Salamanca ca. 1215, of Lérida in 1300 and of numerous others during

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1. Farinelli, *Giornale storico*, vol. XXIV, 1894, p. 208. In 1080 Armengal de Gerb, Count of Urgel, by his marriage with Adelaide, joined to his estates the western part of Provence.

2. Ticknor, *l. c.*, I, p. 365.



the fourteenth century <sup>1</sup> — none of these had attained the prestige of the universities at Bologna, Padua and Ferrara, which were renowned all over Europe, and were hospitably opened to students of all nations. Numerous contemporary documents show that not only many Spanish students were enrolled in these schools, but also that Spaniards were welcomed in them as teachers <sup>2</sup>. In 1364 the Aragonese Egidio Albornoz, legate to the Pope, founded at Bologna the College of San Clemente, for the benefit of Spanish students in Italy <sup>3</sup>.

There was, then, ample opportunity for the passage of Italian thought into Spain.

Trade and commerce brought the two countries yet more closely together; Spanish merchants, particularly those of Barcelona and Valencia had frequent dealings with business men from Pisa and Genoa. Indeed, in 1265 Italian merchants had become so numerous and so powerful in Barcelona, that James I. of Aragon, fearing for the safety of his state, ordered their expulsion from the city, only, however, to see them return within a few years more arrogant than before <sup>4</sup>.

The successful outcome in 1282 of the struggle for the Sicilian throne made Pedro III. of Aragon king of Sicily; from the time of his accession the dependence of the kingdom of Sicily, — and later (1442), that of the kingdom of Naples — upon the crown of Aragon, was another factor in promoting the exchange of ideas between the two South-European peninsulas.

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1. *Historia de las Universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*, por D. Vicente de la Fuente, 4 vols. Madrid, 1884-1889, vol. I, pp. 81, 91, 136, 161.

2. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* Roma, 1782, t. IV, lib. I, c. III.

3. La Fuente, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 153-154; Ticknor, *l. c.*, I, p. 367; Farinelli, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. XXIV, 1894, p. 222.

4. *Id.*, p. 212.

## 2. DANTE AND PETRARCH IN SPAIN.

Before the fourteenth century, there is but little evidence of Italian literary influence in Spain <sup>1</sup>. But the glory of the three great *Trecentisti* was not long in making its way across the sea : as early as the end of the fourteenth century a Catalan poet, Llorens Mallol in his « [Moltes] de vetz », imitated Petrarch's fifteenth *canzone* <sup>2</sup>; Petrarch is quoted in a political document, dated April 15, 1405 and presented by the Cortes of Catalonia to the king Martin <sup>3</sup>; and in 1410, or thereabouts, Bernat Metge translated Petrarch's Latin arrangement of Boccaccio's *Griselda* (*Giorn.* X, 10) <sup>4</sup>.

The most important current of Italian literary influence, however, was to enter the Spanish peninsula not through Catalonia, but through Andalusia. To Francisco Imperial, a Genoese jeweller settled in Seville, is due the impulse whose final effect was completely to change the character of Spanish poetry during the fifteenth century, by substituting the allegorical for the artificial courtly school.

With the deliberate purpose of imitating the *Divina Commedia*, and, it might be, of inspiring in Castilian Spain a type of poetry unknown there at that time, Micer Francisco Imperial wrote in hendecasyllables his *Dezyr de las siete virtudes* <sup>5</sup>. This poem begins with an invocation very similar to that which opens the *Paradiso*, and describes a vision, seen by the Poet and interpreted to

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1. La Fuente, p. 228.

2. Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, vol. III; *Influencia de la literatura italiana en la catalana*, p. 501.

3. Cf. preceding note.

4. *Kleinere Schriften zur erzählenden Dichtung des Mittelalters*, von Reinhold Köhler. Herausgegeben von Johannes Bolte. Berlin, 1900, vol. II, p. 511.

5. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. IV, prólogo, p. LXVII.

him by Dante, who guides Imperial as Vergil did the author of the *Divina Commedia*. The poem confesses its imitative character not only in its form but in its matter, since it is allegorical in conception, and contains hardly a passage the original of which is not to be found either in the *Purgatorio* or the *Paradiso*.

Imperial's other poems are also allegorical. He had many followers among the Andalusian poets, most important of whom was Ruy Páez de Ribera <sup>1</sup>.

The new school of allegorical poetry inspired by Dante, was not long in making its way from Andalusia to Castile, where it eventually displaced the courtly poetry cultivated with such ardor at the Court of John the Second (1419—1454) <sup>2</sup>.

Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Marquis of Santillana, was one of the first and most enthusiastic admirers of Dante, and it was for him that Enrique de Villena made the first Spanish translation of the *Divina Commedia* <sup>3</sup>, which was finished before the tenth of October 1428. Within less than a year from that time (the first of August 1429) Andreu Febrer had completed a Catalan version *en rims vulgars catalans* of the great Italian epic.

Santillana, besides encouraging in others the cult of Dante, himself wrote allegorical poems which place him among Dante's followers; such are, among others, the *Sueño*, *Infierno de los Enamorados*, *Triunphete de Amor*, and the most important of his longer poems, the *Comedieta de Ponza* <sup>4</sup>.

The fame of Juan de Mena, the best known of the poets of John the Second's court, rests upon his *Laberinto* (1444), a long allegorical poem inspired by the *Divina Commedia* <sup>5</sup>. The *Satira*

1. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. IV, prólogo, p. LXXIII.

2. Mario Schiff, *Homenaje*, etc., vol. I, p. 269.

3. Id., p. 273.

4. *Antología*, vol. V, prólogo, p. CXXV; Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, pp. 113-114, 119-122.

5. *Antología*, vol. V, prólogo, p. CLXIX.

*de felix e infeliz vida* by Dom Pedro de Portugal belongs to the allegorical school cultivated by Santillana and Mena <sup>1</sup>, as does also Pero Guillen de Segovia's *Dezyr sobre Amor fecho en el vall de Parayso* <sup>2</sup>. And when that great lover of letters, the Marquis of Santillana, died, two allegorical poems in the manner of Dante, commemorated his virtues and his learning. In one of these, the *Triunpho del Marques* <sup>3</sup>, written towards the middle of the fifteenth century by Diego de Burgos, Dante himself, as in Imperial's *Dezyr*, is the poet's guide. The other poem upon the Marquis' death, *El Planto de las Virtudes e Poesia por el Magnifico señor Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza*, was written in 1458 by Gomez Manrique to whom the allegorical figure of Poetry sings his uncle's praises <sup>4</sup>.

How thoroughly the influence of Dante had imbued the Spanish spirit, can be judged by the long duration in Spain of allegorical poems directly inspired by the Divine Comedy. Juan de la Enzina, in 1492 celebrated the great deeds of Ferdinand and Isabella in an allegory, the *Triunfo de la Fama y Glorias de Castilla* <sup>5</sup>, and in 1518 Juan de Padilla produced his *Los doze Triunphos de los doze apostoles*, in which he has even incorporated passages translated from Dante's poem <sup>6</sup>.

Catalan poetry, meanwhile, was developed mostly along lyric lines and was under the influence of Petrarch. Llorens Mallol and his imitation of Petrarch's fifteenth *canzone* have already been mentioned <sup>7</sup>. Andreu Febrer, the translator of the *Divina Commedia*, followed Petrarch in his lyric poetry, and Antoni Vallmanya cites both Petrarch and Dante in his *Sort en labor de les Monges de*

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1. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VII, p. 82.

2. *Id.*, p. 93, note 1.

3. *Id.*, *l. c.*, vol. VI, pp. 98-102.

4. *Id.*, *l. c.*, vol. VII, pp. 113-115; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. VII, prólogo, p. xciii.

5. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VII, p. 249-250.

6. *Id.*, p. 266.

7. Cf. *supra*, p. 7.

*Valldonzella* (1458) <sup>1</sup>. Foremost among the fifteenth century Petrarchists, however, are Jordi de Sant Jordi <sup>2</sup> (first half fifteenth century) who carries over into his Catalan poems entire passages from Petrarch's sonnets, and Auzias March <sup>3</sup> (first half fifteenth century) who, imitating in his *Cantos* Petrarch's *Triumph*, weaves a tale of his own love for Teresa Bou analogous to the story of his master's love for Laura.

In Castile, although the time of Petrarch's literary supremacy had not yet come, nevertheless he was widely known as a humanist, and his sonnets had found an imitator in the Marquis of Santillana. Before the end of the fifteenth century his *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, *De vita solitaria*, *De viris illustribus*, a part of the *Epistolae* and the *Invectivae in medicum* had been translated into Spanish <sup>4</sup>.

## I. THE INFLUENCE IN SPAIN OF BOCCACCIO'S WORKS OTHER THAN THE *DECAMERON*

Boccaccio's part in the development of Spanish literature was hardly less important than that of Dante or of Petrarch. Indeed, Menéndez y Pelayo says that he was more fortunate than either of the other two " patriarchs of Italian literature ", both in the number and the quality of the Spanish versions made of his works <sup>5</sup>.

To the average reader of to-day the name Boccaccio means

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1. Cf. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, pp. 15-21; Ticknor, *l. c.*, I, p. 345; Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, vol. III, *Antichs Poetas Catalans*, p. 198.

2. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, p. 17; Ticknor, *l. c.*, I, pp. 345 sq.; Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, vol. III, *Antichs Poetas Catalans*, pp. 167-170.

3. *Id.*, pp. 176-186.

4. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. V., *prólogo*, p. xiv.

5. Cf. preceding note.

only the author of the *Decameron*; during the fifteenth century in Spain Boccaccio was known rather by his other works than by his masterpiece, which was the last of his books to exert an influence upon Spanish literature. For, although the *Decameron* was translated into Spanish as early as the middle of the fifteenth century, it is not till the middle of the sixteenth that we find any of its *novelle* retold in Spanish <sup>1</sup>, and not until the seventeenth do the most striking manifestations of its influence appear.

The more important Latin works, on the other hand, as well as the *Fiammetta* and perhaps the *Corbaccio*, also translated into Spanish during the fifteenth century almost at once produced an effect upon the literature of the country. All of them are alluded to in Spanish literature of the fifteenth century, while before the year 1600, the *Fiammetta* and the *Corbaccio* had called into existence types of literature hitherto not known in Spain <sup>2</sup>.

Alonso de Zamora, secretary of John II, says in his *Prologo y Arenga* to the Spanish translation of *De Casibus* <sup>3</sup>, that the Chancellor Pedro López de Ayala translated eight of the ten books, — as far as the middle of the chapter on Arthur, King of England, and that the version was finished by Alfonso García de Santa María. Zamora had read Ayala's incomplete translation, — which must have been finished before 1407, date of the Chancellor's death,—and had long looked for some one who would conclude it, when he was sent with Alfonso García upon an embassy to the King of Portugal. As they had, says the secretary, “algún espacio para enexercitar nuestro espíritu”, they finished the translation of *De Casibus*, the Dean dictating, and Zamora

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1. Antonio de Torquemada in his *Colloquios Satiricos* (Mondoñedo, 1553) retells *Giorn.* X, 10; and Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* (*aprobación* 1566) contains adaptations of *Giorn.* II, 9; X, 8; and X, 10.

2. Cf. *infra*, pp. 15-17.

3. Descriptions of the manuscripts and editions of Boccaccio's works in Spanish here alluded to, and now known to exist, will be found in the Appendix.

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writing. Their work was completed on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1422.

The Spanish version is known as the *Cayda de Principes* and has been preserved in numerous manuscripts. Of these, the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid owns four, and the Biblioteca de Palacio another. Two others, — one incomplete, — are in the Biblioteca del Escorial, and Gallardo mentions another which belonged to the Biblioteca Olivariense. The earliest edition of the *Cayda* was made in 1495, and the book was reprinted in 1511 and 1552.

*De Claris Mulieribus* was also rendered into Spanish during the fifteenth century, and called *Las Mugerres illustres*. It was printed for the first time in 1494 and again in 1528. The translator is unknown.

Three Castilian manuscripts of *De Genealogiis*, two of the fifteenth and one of the sixteenth century, all incomplete, are to be found in Madrid, the two earlier ones in the Biblioteca Nacional, the later one in the Biblioteca de Palacio. Gallardo mentions a Spanish translation of the prologue of *De Genealogiis* <sup>1</sup>.

The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris owns a very beautiful fifteenth century manuscript of the anonymous Castilian translation of *De Montibus, silvis, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis et paludibus et de nominibus maris*.

Manuscripts of the *Ameto* and of *De Montibus* are mentioned by Amador de los Ríos as having belonged to the Biblioteca de Osuna <sup>2</sup>. It is supposed that they were acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid as part of the Osuna collection, but they are not to be found at present in that library.

Ríos also speaks of a fifteenth century Spanish translation of the

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1. Gallardo. *Ensayo de una Biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, Madrid, 1863-1889, 4 vols. vol. II, *Índice de MSS. de la Biblioteca Nacional*, p. 16.

2. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, p. 41, note.

*Corbaccio* <sup>1</sup>, but none either in manuscript or in print is known to exist now. The book was very much read in Spain during the fifteenth century, and there may have been a version of it in Spanish <sup>2</sup>; though the general interest of the times in things Italian is in itself sufficient to account for the familiarity of Spanish men of letters with the *Corbaccio*. The book was put upon the Index in 1631.

Of the *Fiammetta* there are known to-day, two fifteenth century Castilian manuscripts, one incomplete, both in the Escorial library. A Catalan version of the book was also made of which there is a complete fifteenth century manuscript in the *Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón* in Barcelona. The *Fiammetta* was printed in Spanish at the end of the fifteenth century; the first edition, made in 1497, was followed by one in 1523 and another in 1541 <sup>3</sup>. In 1631 the *Fiammetta* was put upon the Index, a circumstance which perhaps explains the rarity of copies of any one of the early editions <sup>4</sup>.

1. *Id.*, p. 41. This is perhaps a mistaken idea of Rios proceeding from the fact that Martinez de Toledo's *Tratado contra las mugeres*, in some editions called also *El Coruacho*, was long considered to be an imitation of Boccaccio's book. But see note 3 below.

2. Cf. following note.

3. Nicolas Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Matriti : 1788, 2 v., vol. II. pp. 231-232) citing Luis Pons de Icart, *De las grandezas de Tarragona* (Lerida, Pedro de Robles y Iuan de Villanueva, 1572), cap. XLII, f. 262 v<sup>o</sup>, says that both the *Fiammetta* and the *Corbaccio* were translated from the Italian by Pedro Rocha. It has been supposed (cf. Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. I, n<sup>o</sup> 720; Salvá, *Catálogo*, Valencia, 1872, vol. I, n<sup>o</sup> 1536; Mendez-Hidalgo, *Tipografía española*, Madrid, 1861, page 360.) that the translation of the *Fiammetta* ascribed to Rocha was that printed in Salamanca in 1497. It seems, however, improbable, that Pedro Rocha, who is known to have translated from the Italian three books of Pietro Aretino (cf. Nicolas Antonio, *ut supra*; also A. Gaspary : *Geschichte der italienischen Literatur*, Zweiter Band, 1888, p. 477) written in Italian in 1534, 1535, and 1540, respectively, should be the author of a Spanish translation, printed as early as 1497.

4. *Indice expurgatorio del año de 1631* (issued under the authority of Cardinal Antonio Zapata), p. 703, col. b.



In the first half of the sixteenth century, the *Filocolo* was in part translated into Spanish and variously known as the *Labyrintho de Amor* and the *Treze Questiones*. The body of the text was translated by Diego López de Ayala, vicar and canon of the church of Toledo, while the metrical summaries of the "preguntas" were the work of Diego de Salazar.

I know of no mention of a Spanish manuscript of the *Treze Questiones*, but three sixteenth century editions are extant, those of 1546, 1549 and 1553. Blasco de Garay, in the foreword to the edition of 1549 ("Blasco de Garay al lector") gives the names of the translators and says that one edition of Ayala's translation had been made and printed surreptitiously with the title *Laberynto de Amor d Juã Bocacio*, evidently through confusion with another book by the same author. This first edition was very imperfect. The title given to the edition of 1546 seems to indicate that this was the edition "sacada a hurtadas" referred to by Blasco de Garay<sup>1</sup>.

Such then were the Spanish translations of Boccaccio made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The imitations in Spanish of some of his books, and the frequency with which he is cited, also bear witness to the esteem in which he was held at this time in Spain.

The *Fiammetta* gave rise to Rodríguez de la Cámara's *Siervo libre de Amor* (1439-1440) and to the *Cárcel de Amor* (finished shortly after 1465) of Diego de San Pedro, the first examples of the sentimental novel in Spain<sup>2</sup>. Inspired by the same romantic

1. Nevertheless, Pérez Pastor, the only bibliographer that refers to the edition of 1549 (cf. *La Imprenta en Toledo*, Madrid, 1887, p. 93, nº 234) does not consider it to be the second edition, since in Garay's prologue, he promises that a Spanish translation of Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* will soon appear. Such a translation was published in October 1547. It therefore seems probable that the first corrected edition of the *Treze Questiones* appeared between August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1546 and October 1547.

2. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. V; prólogo, pp. xiv-xv.

story of Boccaccio, Juan de Flores wrote his *Breve tratado de Grimalte y Gradissa* <sup>1</sup>. The *Question de Amor*, a story of the same type, was written between 1508 and 1512; the scene like that of the *Fiammetta* is laid at the court of Naples <sup>2</sup>.

Fra Rocaberti, a Catalan poet of the middle of the fifteenth century, in his *Gloria de Amor*, an allegorical poem in which he speaks of both Dante and Petrarch, introduces the characters of Pamphilo and Fiameta <sup>3</sup>. He also mentions several characters of the *Filocolo* and imitates in a discourse upon love a passage of the *Corbaccio* <sup>4</sup>.

This latter work provoked much discussion at the Court of

1. The *Breve tratado* begins : *Comiença un breve tratado cõpuesto por Johan de Flores : el q̄l por la siguiente obra mudo su nombre en Grimalte. La invencion del qual es sobre la fiameta...*

The date of the first edition of the *Tractado de Grimalte y Gradissa* is not known. It appears however to have come from the same press as did *La Historia de Grisel y Mirabella*, also by Juan de Flores, which seems to have been first printed in the fifteenth century. Cf. *Breve tratado de Grimalte y Gradissa* compuesto por Johan de Flores. Madrid, MD.CCCLXXXIII (a fac-simile reprint) *Prólogo*, pp. x-xi.

2. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VII, p. 395, foot note. Cf. also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. VI, pp. 359, 365.

3. Paris, Bib. Nat., Morel-Fatio, *Catalogue des manuscrits esp.*, n° 595; Fonds esp. n° 225. *La gloria d'amor* de fra Rocaberti, fol. 1 to fol. xxiv vo.

“ E quant fuy dins, ell feu dolç callament  
 Mirant is viu ab cara desdenyosa  
 Desconaxent Pamphilo qui callaue.  
 Trist abatut, ab la cara plorosa  
 E deuant ell ab dolor sospirant  
 fiameta qui del plant se lexaua  
 Apres giras nir dient plorant  
 .....  
 O tu qui est de senblant vestidura...  
 Jo respoguis, o nobla fiameta... (fo XIV vo-xv ro).

4. Cf. F.-R. Cambouliu, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature catalane*, deuxième édition. Paris, 1858, pp. 168, 158.

John II., where public sentiment was apparently divided between the admirers of Boccaccio's fierce attack upon women, whom Diego de Valera calls "aquestos començadores de nueua seta que rota mente les plase en general de todas las mugeres mal desir"; and those who wrote in women's defense. Most important among the former was Alonso Martínez, Archpriest of Talavera, who devoted one section (the second) of the four of his book "que fabla de las malas mugeres 7 complexiones de los hombres" (1438), later called *Reprobación del amor mundano*, or *Corbacho*<sup>1</sup>, to an exposition of woman's frailty and sinfulness.

Numerous were the books written in praise of women to contradict the malicious accusations of the *Corbaccio*, among them, Alonso de Cartagena's *Libro de las mugeres illustres*, written at the request of Queen María (wife of John II.), and unfortunately lost; Rodríguez de la Cámara's *Triunpho de las donas*<sup>2</sup>, Diego de Valera's *Defensa de virtuosas mugeres*<sup>3</sup>, and Alvaro de Luna's *Libro de las virtuosas é claras mugeres*<sup>4</sup>. Rodríguez de la Cámara's references to the *Corbaccio* show his *Triunpho* to be the direct result of Boccaccio's book<sup>5</sup>, while Diego de Valera apostrophizes

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1. *Arcipreste de Talavera (Corvacho ó Reprobación del Amor mundano) por el Bachiller Alfonso Martínez de Toledo*. Lo publica La Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, vol. 35. Madrid 1901 (ed. by Cristóbal Pérez Pastor).

For the title of the book, cf. page XIV of the *Breves Noticias sobre la vida y obras de Alfonso Martínez de Toledo*, pages v-xxxI of the above.

2. *Obras de Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara (ó del Padrón)*. Publicadas la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, t. 22, Madrid 1884 (ed. by Antonio Paz y Méliá). *El Triunfo de las Donas y Cadira de Honor*, pp. 81-173.

3. *Diego de Valera. Epistolas enbiadas en diversos tiempos é d diversas personas*. Publicadas juntamente con otros cinco tratados del mismo autor la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, t. 16. Madrid, 1878 (edited by J. A. de Balenchana). *Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mugeres*, p. 125.

4. *Libro de las virtuosas é claras mugeres el qual fixo é compuso el condestable Don Alvaro de Luna*, with a preliminary study by M. Menéndez y Pelayo Madrid 1891 (Soc. de Biblióf. esp., t. 28).

5. *Triunfo de las donas*, p. 87. "... el actor delas quales me parece, si

Boccaccio himself <sup>1</sup>, sharply reproving the author of *De claris mulieribus* for having written the *Corbaccio*. Both the *Triumpho* and the *Tractado* are dedicated to the wife of King John.

The *Libro de las virtuosas é claras mujeres* of Alvaro de Luna is, in plan, not unlike Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, being a series of biographies of famous women. No doubt Don Alvaro took from Boccaccio much of his information though he also drew from other sources. His treatise is divided into three parts: the first tells of famous women of the Bible, the second of heroines of antiquity and the third of Saints <sup>2</sup>.

*De claris mulieribus* was known also in Catalonia, for the notary Vallmanya in his poem in honor of the nuns of Vall-donzella compares them successively to the heroines of classical

largo dolor, o razonar al que yo pienso semejable, non me engaña, ser del maldiciente et vituperoso Couarcho ofensor del valor delas donas, non fundando sobre diuina nin humana auctoridat, mas sola ficcion. Et dignamente se intitula *Couarchon* como el su componedor, por aver parlado mas del conuenible, e auer en el fengido nouelas torpes e desonestas, . . . »

pp. 98-99. "E por el contrario auiene que non (*sic*) se mueua contra ellos a piadat, ala ora conuertiendo la vsada virtud en viçios, el honor de todas por diuersos modos non çesan ofender; vnos, por palabra . . . e algunos otros que mas excelentes de ingenio se creen, estendiendo la prosa, segund fizo el non menos lleno de viçios que de años Vocaçio, . . . »

1. Diego de Valera, *l. c.*, pp. 140-41. "Pues á ty, Juan Vocacio, que en los postrimeros dias de tu vida las amortiguadas llamas de amor rrebiuaste, por las quales fueste costreñido tus loables fechos con poquillas letras manzillar, ¿ tu eres aquel que escreuiste libro de *Claras mugeres*, onde con gran trabajo ayuntaste la castidat, é perpetua virginidat de muchas? ¿ Tú eres aquel que escriuiendo el tu libro de las *Caydas*, rrecontando las condiciones de las mugeres no buenas, dixiste no quiera Dios que yo diga por todas, que en ellas ay muchas santas, é castas é virtuosas, las quales con grant rreuerencia son de acatar, é despues, oluidada la vergüença de ty, escreuiste en el tu *Coruacho* lo que mi lengua deue callar?"

2. Menéndez y Pelayo, *l. c.* in note 66. *Estudio critico*, p. VIII.

antiquity, the story of whose lives, he says in his notes, he has derived principally from Boccaccio's book <sup>1</sup>.

Boccaccio's purely didactic works, *De Genealogiis* and *De Montibus*, were also not without influence in Spain. The former presumably led the celebrated bishop of Avila, Alfonso de Madrigal ("El Tostado"), to write his *Fechos de Medea* and *Tractado de los Dioses* <sup>2</sup>; and the latter suggested to the Catalan Gerónimo Pau his book *De Fluminibus et Montibus utriusque Hesperiae* <sup>3</sup>. Luis Vives is quoted by Ríos as saying of the *Genealogiae* in *De tradenda Disciplina*: "Deorum Genealogiae in corpus unum redegit felicius quam illo erat saeculo sperandum" <sup>4</sup>.

But the book by which Boccaccio was most generally known in Spain, and upon which his reputation for wisdom and learning chiefly rested, was *De Casibus Virorum illustrium*. The number of the Spanish manuscripts made of this book and its three Spanish editions attest its popularity, which is further proved by the very frequent citations from it and references to it in the fifteenth century literature of Spain. Both *De Casibus* and *De claris mulieribus* are referred to as authoritative, and are quoted side by side with Genesis and the works of Saint Augustine.

Diego de Valera in the *Espejo de Verdadera Nobleza* refers both to the *Cayda* and to *Las illustres mugeres* <sup>5</sup>, and Alonso Martinez

1. Cf. *supra*, pp. 9-10. Also: Milá, *Obras completas*, vol. III, *Antichs poetes catalans*, p. 198.

2. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, p. 292, footnote.

3. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, p. 412. Cf. also Torres Amat, *Diccionario critico de los escritores catalanes*, p. 472.

4. Ríos, *l. c.*, vol. VI, p. 41, footnote.

5. Diego de Valera, *l. c.*, *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, pp. 169-229. *Capitulo primero*, p. 173. "Juan Vocacio, en el capitulo ciento é quatro del su libro *De las Caydas*, aquesta opinion paresce seguir".

*Capitulo v*, p. 185. "Entre los quales, Menbroth, como fuese el más valiente de los de su tiempo, fué el primero que tomó lugar de rreynar ó señorear en el mundo, segund es escripto en el *Génesy*, dezeno capitulo, é Juan Vocacio lo dize en el su libro *De las Caydas*, quarto capitulo".

de Toledo in the *Reprobación del amor mundano* alludes more than once to the *Cayda de Principes* <sup>1</sup>.

Another admirer of the philosopher of Certaldo was the marquis of Santillana, who is known to have owned not a few of Boccaccio's works both in the original and in their Spanish translations <sup>2</sup>, and who refers to him frequently with praise. In the *Prohemio de las obras* <sup>3</sup> he speaks of him as a "poeta excelente e orador insine", and mentions his *Genealogia o libro de los Dioses Gentiles*. Later on, in the same *Prohemio*, still contending for the superiority of verse to prose as a form of expression, he refers to Boccaccio with Dante and Petrarch, thus: "Dante escrivió en

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*Capitulo VI*, p. 191. . . "mas él aver tomado por fuerza la señoría de los Sannites, dízelo Juan Vocacio en el capítulo sesenta y ocho, en el su libro de las *Caydas*".

*Capitulo VII*, pp. 194-195: "É si queremos las antiguas y modernas ystorias leer, muchos semejantes enxemplos podemos fallar. . . de los quales Valerio Máximo. . . é Johan Vocacio en el libro de las *Caydas*, por todo ponen diversos enxemplos".

1. *Arcipreste de Talavera, etc.* (cf. note 62), p. 131. "E avn desto fabló Juan Bocaçio, de los arrees de las mugeres e de sus tachas, e cómo las encubren". Cf. *La Cayda de Principes*, Toledo, 1511, *Libro I*, cap. VIII. "En el qual el maestro que fizo este libro fabla algunas cosas contra las mugeres".

P. 284. "Otra razon te diré, la qual Juan Bocaçio prosygue, de la qual pone vn enxemplo tal. Dize que él, estando en Napoles oyendo vn dia liçion de vn grand natural filosofo maestro que ally tenia escuela de estrologia, el qual avia nombre Andalo de Nigro, de Genova çibdadano, leyendo la materia que los çielos en sus mouimientos fazen e de los cursos de las planetas e sus ynfluencias dixo esta razon: no deue poner culpa a las estrellas, sygnos e planetas quando el causador busca su desuentura e es causador de su mal, e pone vn enxemplo para prouança desta razon. . . E el enxemplo es este. Dize que la Pobreza vn dia estaua muy triste e como trabajada" etc through the whole fable given by Boccaccio of the struggle between Fortune and Poverty. Cf. *La Cayda de Principes*, *Lib. III*, cap. II. "la disputacion z contienda que ouieron entresy la fortuna y la pobreza".

2. Mario Schiff: *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillana*, soon to appear.

3. Rios, *Obras del Marqués de Santillana*, Madrid, 1852, p. 7.

tercio rimo elegantemente las sus tres comedias "Infierno, Purgatorio, Parayso", Micer Françisco Petrarca sus "Triumphos"; Checo Dascoli el libro *De proprietatibus rerum*, Johan Bocaçio el libro que "Ninfal" se intitula, aunque ayuntó á el prosas de gran eloquencia á la manera del "Boeçio consolatorio" <sup>1</sup>.

In the *Glosa de los Proverbios*, Santillana makes frequent mention of *De Casibus* and *De claris mulieribus* <sup>2</sup>, and in the *Prohemio* to the *Comedieta de Ponça*, defining the word *tragedia*, he says <sup>3</sup>: "Tragedia es aquella que contiene en si caydas de grandes reyes é príncipes, ...cuyos nacimientos é vidas alegremente se començaron é despues tristemente cayeron. E del fablar destes usó Séneca el mancebo en las sus Tragedias ⁊ Johan Bocaçio enel libro « De casibus virorum illustrium »".

Boccaccio himself is one of the principal personages in the *Comedieta* <sup>4</sup>, where he is called upon to console the four unhappy women, Leonor, dowager queen of Aragon, Maria, queen of

1. *Ut supra*, pp. 7 and 8.

2. *Obras del Marqués* etc. p. 69 : "Glosa al proverbio III" ... e Johan Bocaçio, poeta moderno, en el "Libro de las Dueñas, hablando de la fortaleza de las mugeres, loando á Porçia, fija de Caton..."

p. 78. *Al LIV* : "... asy como Johan Bocaçio poeta florentino abundantamente lo recuenta en el su libro "De Teseo".

pp. 78-79 : "Lucrecia, entre las loables romanas es contado é muy altamente escripto su fecho, asy por Tito Livio é Valerio en sus libros, como por Sanct Augustin á quien mayor fee deve ser otorgada en el libro, "De civitate Dei", e por Johan Bocaçio en los sus libros "De Casibus" é en el "De Praeclaris Mulieribus".

E la moralidad que sobre esta raçon façen muchos auctores, asy Fray Thomás de Cappa en los Morales deste mesmo libro, "Metamorphóseos, como Johan Bocaçio en la "Genealogia de los Dioses gentiles".

p. 80. "Virinea, cómo é cuánto fuesse con gran afincamiento requerida por Appio Claudio de ilícito amor, ya por Tito Livio se recuenta en la su segunda decada. E asy mesmo Johan Bocaçio lo rescita en el libro "De Casibus virorum illustrium".

3. *Obras del Marqués de Santillana*, p. 94.

4. *Ut supra*, pp. 93-144.

Navarre, Blanca, reigning queen of Aragon, and the Infanta Catherina, who are bewailing the disastrous battle near the Island of Ponza in 1425. Boccaccio is introduced in the following manner at the tenth stanza, which bears the superscription : *Miçer Johan Bocaçio de Certaldo, illustre poeta florentino* :

## X

Après de las quales vi mas un varon  
 En hábito honesto, mas bien arreado,  
 E non se ignorava la su perfection,  
 Ca de verde lauro era coronado.

The Queens and the Infanta then in turn address the “illustrious Florentine Poet”, Queen Leonor being the first to speak to him :

## XI

¿ Eres tú, Bocacio, aquel que tractó  
 De tantas materias, ca yo non entiendo  
 Que otro poeta á tí se igualó ?  
 ¿ Eres tú, Bocacio, el que copiló  
 Los casos perversos del siglo mundano ?

The Queen of Navarre, who then turns to the Poet, is followed by the reigning Queen of Aragón :

## XIII

Fabló la tercera, tornada al sentido,  
 El qual con la fabla le era fuydo  
 Diciendo : Bocacio, la nuestra miseria,  
 Si fablar quisieres, mas dina materia  
 Te offresçe de quantas tú has escrivido.

Boccaccio replies to the Queens in Italian, and promises, when he shall have heard the tale of their misfortunes, to record them in prose or in verse if the august ladies so command.



The *Cayda* was evidently still well known in the last half of the sixteenth century. Antonio de Torquemada cites it in his *Jardin de Flores*<sup>1</sup> and an allusion in Villegas' *Selvagia* shows how thoroughly its contents had been assimilated. For the following words certainly refer to the *Casibus virorum illustrium* :

Yo tengo en mí determinado, si en ello juntamente vuestra voluntad viene, porque la fortuna con algun mal reves no tenga lugar (soltándose del palo de Bocacio) contra nosotros, de que se le dé una compañía tal qual su noble linaje demanda<sup>2</sup>...

The few examples just given gathered from a very incomplete, not to say almost cursory, study of the subject, will serve to show how familiarly Boccaccio was known in Spain by his Latin writings and by his works in the vernacular other than the *Decameron*. We shall now turn to the main subject of this dissertation : the endeavor to trace the influence of his masterpiece upon Spanish literature.

1. Iardin || de Flores cv || riosas, en qve se || tratan algvnas ma || terias de hvmanidad || Philosophia, Theologia, y Geographia || con otras cosas curiosas, y apazi || bles, Compuesto por || Antonio de Tor- || quemada. || En Anveres, || En casa de Juan Corderio. || Año. 1575. || Con Privilegio. || p. 363. "... y que de muy baxo estados muchas vezes vienen a ser Reyes, como fueron el Rey Giges, y casi en nuestros tienpos el gran Tamorlan, y otros que de Reyes baxan a lo mas infimo de toda desuventura y miseria, como se vera por tantos exemplos como se leen en el libro llamado cayda de principes. (I have not seen the first edition which Salvá says was printed in Salamanca in 1570.)

2. *Comedia llamada Selvagia compuesta por Alonso de Villegas Selvago*. Edition of Toledo 1554, fol. lxxvij, r. *Cena segunda del quinto Acto*.

Cf. Salvá, *l. c.*, t. I, pp. 559-560, nº 1497.

Reprinted in *Colección de libros españoles raros ó curiosos*, tomo V. Madrid, 1873.

## II. — THE MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN IN SPAIN OF TRANSLATIONS OF THE *DECAMERON*

As has been said, several Spanish manuscript copies of the secondary works of Boccaccio have been preserved until now; of the *Decameron* however, but one Castilian manuscript is known to exist. The mention, even, of Spanish manuscripts of the *Decameron* is very rare. Clemencín speaks of a manuscript translation of the book which he says was later printed. He also refers to certain sheets of a manuscript of the *Decameron* which once belonged to the library of D. Rodrigo Alfonso Pimentel at Benavente. These sheets are set down in the catalogue of the library as “unos quadernos de las cien Nouelas en papel cebti menor” but it is not specifically stated that the hundred *novelas* are Boccaccio’s nor that the manuscript is in Spanish <sup>1</sup>.

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1. *Memorias de la real Academia de la Historia*. Tomo VI. Madrid, Sancha. Año de 1821. Cf. *Inventário de los libros propios de la Reina Doña Isabel que estaban en el alcazar de Segobia á cargo de Rodrigo de Tordesillas, vecino y regidor de dicha ciudad, en el año de 1503*. p. 460. art. 150 and note to art. 148, 149, 150. Art. 150: “ Otro libro en romance de mano que son las *novelas de Juan Bocdcio*, con unas tablas de papel forradas en cuero colorado”. Note 148, 149, 150: “ ... En la biblioteca de la fortaleza de Benavente habia unos *cuadernos de las cien novelas en papel cebti menor*, lo que indica claramente el *Decameron*, obra bien conocida de Bocácio: y aunque no se dice si era el original ó su traduccion, el artículo 150 del presente inventário no permite dudar que estaba ya traducida en aquel siglo. La version se dió á la estampa, y D. Nicolás Antonio cita como segunda la edicion hecha por Juan de Villaquiran en Toledo, el año de 1524 ”.

For catalogues of the library at Benavente, cf. *Demostración histórica del verdadero valor de todas las monedas que corrian en Castilla durante el reynado del señor Don Enrique III...* su autor el Padre Fray Liciniano Saez... Madrid, Benito Cano, 1796, pp. 374-379, and Rudolf Beer, *Die Handschriftenschatze Spaniens*. Wien, 1895, pp. 103-109, nos 21, 52, 53.

We may nevertheless assume that the *cien Novelas* referred to were Boccaccio's, since the only other well-known collection of stories called by a similar title (*Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of Louis XI, written about 1456)<sup>1</sup>, was never, so I learn from Mr. Menéndez y Pelayo, translated into Spanish until 1899.

Moreover, the incomplete manuscript of the Benavente library was written upon "papel cebti menor", a paper much used during the fourteenth century but not found in manuscripts of later date than the beginning of the fifteenth century<sup>2</sup>. The *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of 1456 could therefore not have been written upon "papel cebti menor".

Nothing is known of the fate of the two manuscripts mentioned by Clemencín, the bare references to them just given being, to my knowledge, our sole information concerning them. If the manuscript of the library of Benavente was in Spanish, the "papel cebti menor" on which it was written, would show that the *Decamerone* was translated into Spanish, at least in part, during the fourteenth or at the very dawn of the fifteenth century.

A curious allusion in a manuscript of the fifteenth century, would point to the conclusion that at least one *novella* of the *Decameron* was already familiar to Spaniards at that time. In the "Envincion tomada sobre el juego de los naypes por Fernando de la Torre", the author suggesting the design of one of a pack of playing cards says: « Ha de ser la figura del caullero la ystoria

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1. It is improbable that the MS here referred to should be that of the collection now known as the *Novellino*. Concerning the earliest titles of this book, cf. *Le Novelle Antiche dei codici Panciatichiano-Palatino 138 e Laurenziano-Gaddiano 193 con una introduzione sulla storia del Novellino* per Guido Biagi. In Firenze, G. C. Sansoni, Editore, 1880.

2. The date of the use of the "papel cebti menor" was given me by Mr. Mario Schiff. The information is the result of his personal researches and is corroborated by MM. Menéndez y Pelayo, Menéndez Pidal, and Antonio Paz y Mélia.

de Guysmonda como le envia su padre vn gentil onbre en vn cauallo e le trae el coraçon de su henemigo rriscardo el qual con çiertas yerbas toma en vna copa de oro e muere » <sup>1</sup> (cf. *Dec. Giorn.* IV, 1).

During the fifteenth century, pictures of men and women famous in history or story often decorated the face cards in a player's pack. The story of Ghismonda and Guiscardo must then have been already very well known in Spain, since it was sufficiently popular for such use.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Lope in the *Exemplo de Casadas* makes one of his characters say of Laurencia (Griselda),

Hazense retratos della  
por sus soberanas partes  
en toda Francia y Castilla  
con excelencia y honras tales.  
De los quales este es vno  
que le puse en este naype  
que es Reyna aunque en este juego  
la fortuna le descarte.

Cf. *El Exemplo de Casadas* <sup>2</sup>, Act. III, fol. 20 vº, col. b.

#### I. THE CATALAN MANUSCRIPT.

Mr. Isidro Bonsoms of Barcelona is the owner of the only Catalan manuscript of the *Decameron* known to us. (In referring to

1. Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid. MS. 2-F-5, fol. 71, a-6. Mr. Ramón Menéndez Pidal pointed out this passage to me.

2. The *Comedia famosa : El Exemplo de casadas y prueua de la paciencia*, in the *Flor de || las comedias || de España, de diferentes || autores. || Quinta Parte || Recopiladas por Francisco || de Auila, vezino de Madrid. Dirigidas al doctor Fran || cisco Martinez Polo, Catedratico de prima de Me || dicina en la Univer-*sidad de || Valladolid || Año 1616 || En Barcelona, en casa Sebastian de Cormellas al Call. || Fol. 20 vº, col b.

it, I shall call it *B.*). It contains cccxxxiiij leaves, foliated, preceded by 26 leaves s. f. *vix* : 7 blank leaves of a different and thinner paper than that of the rest of the manuscript; 1 blank leaf, of the same paper as the rest of the manuscript, on the recto of which is written in sixteenth century script : “ mas clara se para || de les steles la luna ”, and in a different handwriting : “ hi ajey perdo ”. At the beginning of the nineteenth century some one wrote upon the same side of this folio “ Las cien novelas en Catalan ”. On the verso of the folio is written in sixteenth century writing “ ny falo vyda contygo || ni puedo bivyr cyn ty || Antoni de Vilanoua ”.

Then follow :

five folios containing the *taula*, the first one smaller than the others; two folios of smaller size out of their proper place (being folios 3 and 4 of the *Introduzione*);

two blank folios;

nine folios containing the *Proemio*, which occupies the first two folios and twelve lines of the third, and the main part of the *Introduzione*.

At the end of the book there are two blank folios of a different paper.

292×218 mm. Writing, fifteenth century.

The text begins folio 1 recto :

“ Covinent cosa est molt cares dones q̄ cascuna cosa la qual lome fa ” —

and ends folio cccxxxiiij verso, second col. :

“ fo acabada la p̄sent translacio dimarts que' comptauē v dies del mes dabril e lany d̄la fructificant Incarnacio del fill de deu M.CCCCXXVIIIJ en la vila de Sanct Cugat de Valles.

Aci feneix la deena e drera Jornada dl libre appellat de' Cameron nominat lo Princip Galeot en altra maña lo Cento nouella ”

The *taula* is incomplete beginning with the title of *Giorn*.



# OVIMENT COSA ES MOLT

cares bones q̄ castina cosa la qual lome  
fa p̄ lo admirabile e sant nom de agt̄ lo  
qual fo m̄h. fartyoz de totes les coses do  
p̄ncipi p̄ que venes jo al vostre p̄t̄.  
nonellar. p̄ncipal enten/ em̄ adoz rom  
e pr̄m̄ en bna seles s̄nes moranello  
No coses p̄o que h̄ont agt̄ la m̄a esper̄a se referm̄ a  
en rom arosa inprimitable e tots temps p̄ nosaltres sia  
lo s̄n nom loat. **M**anifesta cosa es que ays rom les  
coses temporales totes s̄n r̄astiores e mortales ays en




qm' bñem no pòde estrapar. si depart de genions  
es atorgada especial graria. si fora e gran ansanar  
pell non se donat / la qual nosaltres no s'ent crenze que  
p alguns nostres merces degna venç sino pla. Na ppi  
a bemyntat no guda sels prechs impetrars p aquels  
qm' fore mortals avirum sem nosaltres en centre foren  
en vida eternalmet foren benaventurats los quals ella mia.  
teps avirum apruzados infornars p speruentro. Sta ma -  
fragilitat no enont andario de porrar los nres per  
rats donat lo jutge de les coses les quals reputo anosa  
l tres necessaries. ¶ Enora mes ell en vers nos ple sepi  
a cosa liberalitat d'irerim q no posent mortal en lo sa  
cret. ¶ St d' unio magestat trespasar en alguna manera  
ses gene tal begada. que aquels qm se opimo son enga  
nats venant lo sua magestat ffassen puzados qm se a  
quella. ab atornal. e ells sia sutat. ¶ Et no res menys  
ell alqual negna cosa no es amagada. reguardant



# OVIMENT COSA ES MOLT

cares bones q̄ casterna cosa. la qual lome  
fa p̄ lo admirabile e sant nom de agt̄ lo  
qual fomb̄ fartyoz de totes les coses do  
p̄ncipi p̄ que genex̄ p̄ al vostre p̄t̄.  
nonellaz. p̄ncipiar enten̄ entre adoz rom  
entrom̄ en vna seles s̄nes moranello  
No coses p̄re que hōm̄ agt̄ la m̄a esp̄ra co sezeferm̄ a  
p̄ rom̄ arosa imp̄mutabile e totes temps p̄ no saltes sia  
Manifesta cosa es que av̄i rom̄ les  
mortalis arienh̄





qm' vñm no podd' e' estar. si depart de de non  
es atorgada. especial grana. si fora e gran anysa  
pell non se donat / la qual nosaltres nosseid creze. que  
p alguns nostres merces segna sem? sino p la. sia p pi  
a bemyntat no guda dels prechs impetrars p aquels  
qm' fore mortals oxim som nosaltres e mentre foren  
en vida. eternalmnt foren benaucturats los quals ella  
teps oxim aprazos infelms p sperentia. sta ma  
fragilitat no enont andario. se porra los mes per  
rats donat lo jutge. de les robes les quals reputo anosa  
lres necessaries ¶ Enroza mes ell en vers nos ple sepi  
aosa liberalitat. direrim q' no possent mortal ento sa.  
¶ Et q' unio magestat trespassar en alguna manera  
ses. de ne tal vegada. que aquels qm' se opimo son en ga  
nats. donant la sua magestat. ffallen puzador qm' se a  
quella. ab atornal. e ells sia gitat ¶ Et no res menys  
ell al qual ne gna. cosa no es amagada. regnordant





al desayre p amor de deu / e  
 molen a zorra / e no saben may  
 la mesura ans la donen bastat  
 No resmenys elle confessen Les  
 roses daquest mon no cer parles  
 ans tots temps son moumbles  
 e aris porra d'ad mia Lengon  
 esser vengut La qual roya  
 no rehent ho me' dix vna impo  
 resina que' yo la hania fa  
 myllor e la puo dotra dt mon  
 E en veritat com ay se poye  
 reparer seuire Des dimmit /  
 dies nouelle E p ro com felle /  
 namer sa bonen aq'elles semblats  
 roya vull que se que he dit  
 bast aello p resposta / E lexat  
 d'arimas a que prima die e

Ha fuyssiant Jucornano del  
 fill de deu M.M.C. xxviiiij.  
 en La vila de Sant Engat  
 de Valles

// No feneix la deena e Liera  
 Tornada d' hbre a pellat  
 de Camercon nombrat Lo  
 Pemoep Ealeot / en a ltra  
 maná Lo Cento nouella.

a l'aquelles humilment reger  
i com la digna prudentia  
com ay de Longueval ab  
la sia anda nos ha adre!  
Tada s'indubte! E vespas  
graneros donec ab la sua  
romany en pan recordant  
vos de mi si alguna cosa de  
aquepo que haueu Legido  
p' venira vos andau // fo  
a calada la p'ent n'antano  
d'amaris que comprate. v.  
des de mes d'abul / en l'any

THE CATALAN MANUSCRIPT

Last folio, verso.



2, 7. (D. II. 144) <sup>1</sup>: “ La filla del solda tramesa a marit al rey de garp en spay de poch dies vench en diverses achcidens e en mans de viii homens dels quals moriren la mayor part e darerament per poncela fonch restituïda al pare e per poncela la dona a marit —en cartes...Lij.”, and lacking from “ Teodoro ama Violant filla de ” (beginning of title of *Giorn.* 5, 7), to “ Tofano isque de casa p anar li ajudar e ella sen entra e tanca la porta e romas de fora en cartes ccxij ” — (end of *Giorn.* 7, 4.)

The titles of *Giorn.* 3, 6 and 7, are in the reverse order.

The *Proemio* is without title and begins: “ Uumana (*sic*) cosa es auer compasio dels afligits... ” The introduction to the first day follows the *Proemio* upon the same page. A small space intervenes between the two, but the introduction is without heading. It begins: “ Moltes voltes gracioses dones e pensat en mi matex que atenant que vosaltres naturalmèt son totes piadoses... ”

The succession of the leaves of the introduction is confused; they should be in the following order (I give the initial words of the recto of each leaf) :

Moltes voltes	}	the two small leaves
melor ne pus		
dauant lo metien	}	following the <i>taula</i> (cf. <i>supra</i> )
trobam que de sus		
cascona de vosaltres	}	the verso of each of these
sia inflammat		
tres fosen parentes		
ab los pes del pler		
precioses flores.		folios should be the recto.

The paragraphs corresponding to *L'altre donne — cominciò costi* (cf. D. I. p. 47, l. 19 — p. 51 end) which in the Italian are

1. The references to the Italian *Decameron* throughout this dissertation are to the edition of Sonzogno: *Giovanni Boccacci, Il Decameron riscontrato co' migliori testi e con note di P. Fanfani, E. Camerini ed altri.* Milano, 1894, 2 vols.



unspaced in *B* (f. 8, s. f. — f. 11 v<sup>o</sup> s. f.) are slightly spaced. Each paragraph begins with a large capital, red and blue alternating.

The brief argument which heads each *novella* in the original, is omitted in the Catalan version, though a space is left sufficient for it at the beginning of each story.

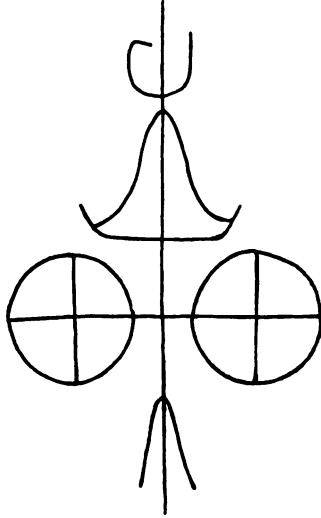
The manuscript is the work of two scribes; the first handwriting extends from the beginning of the book to fol. clxxxij inclusive. Through folio clxxxij there is no division into columns. Height of writing on a page 208-209 mm.; width 130 mm. In this part of the book every *novela* as well as every introduction to every *novela* (i. e. every separate division of the text) begins with a large initial capital, red and blue alternating. The separate sentences begin with the sign **C** first in red, then in blue.

The second handwriting extends from folio clxxxij (incl.) to the end of the book. Folio clxxxij is not quite half-filled. A blank leaf s. f. follows.

The manuscript from fol. clxxxiiij to the end of the book is in two columns; height of col. of writing 208-209 mm.; width 67-68 mm. Blank spaces for large initial capitals are left at the beginnings of the *novelas* and of the introductions to the *novelas*, but they have in no case been filled in.

The date of the manuscript has been corrected; as first written it read m.cccccxxviiiij, but the last two c have been joined so that they form but one, which though thick and clumsy, is yet but a single letter. As the ink of the correction is precisely the same as that of the rest of the date and of the second handwriting, it is probably not rash to assume that the correction was made at about the same time that the date was set down, and, therefore, that the real date of the manuscript is what the correction makes it, 1429; especially as the writing of the manuscript belongs to the fifteenth century.

The paper of the ms is paper manufactured during the fifteenth century. The water-mark of the paper is as follows:



Paper with this water-mark was first made in Italy and was in frequent use in Italy and in the kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre from 1410—1480<sup>1</sup>.

This Catalan manuscript is a literal translation of the *Decameron* as we know it, except that the last story contained in it is not a translation of Boccaccio's *Griselda*, but is Bernat Metge's famous version of Petrarch's Latin reworking of Boccaccio's tale. The stories succeed each other in the familiar Italian order; the manuscript contains all the *novelle*, all the introductions both to the *Giornate* and to the *novelle*, and all the epilogues. The only parts of the Italian *Decameron* not contained in *B* are :

- the headings to the days (cf. D. I, 98 *Finisce — lieto fine* etc.);
- the titles to the stories;
- the *ballata. Giorn. 10, 7.* (cf. D. II, 331.);

1. This information concerning the paper with the water-mark reproduced above, was given by Mr. Francisco de Bofarull, Director of the *Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, to Mr. Bonsoms, who kindly placed it at my disposal.

some lines at the end of the following *Giornate* :

*Giorn. 2.* (cf. D. I. 192) *fu cantata*, 20 — end;

*Giorn. 3.* (cf. D. I. 265-266) the song;

*Giorn. 4.* (cf. D. I. 333-334) the song; (on the margin of the manuscript is written the word *cāso*, but no song appears).

*Giorn. 5.* (cf. D. II, 75) the prose after the song, *da poi — riposare*.

*Giorn. 6.* (cf. D. II. 111) the prose after the song, *Poi che — dormire*.

*Giorn. 7.* (cf. D. II, 171-172) the song;

*Giorn. 9.* (cf. D. II, 297) the song;

*Giorn. 10.* (cf. D. II, 372-373) the song.

No one of the four songs (*Giornate 1, 5, 6, 8,*) given in the manuscript (*B*, fol. xxvi verso; clxxx verso, col. 1; ccv, col. 1; cclxvii verso, col. 1) is a translation of the corresponding Italian verses <sup>1</sup>.

The titles of the popular songs sung by Dioneo (D. II 74, 32 — 75, 2) are replaced in *B* (f. clxxx) by the titles of Catalan popular songs. Those mentioned are : *Sim trobam al bosch soleta sol sol no me'n demanden*; *Dejus lo formatge fresch bona m'es lamor*; *E la tum tum vitarda*; *Vitum vitayna la calorete m' ve*; *En Burell m'a vist lo cony mesquina*; *Vayandano vayando vayandana mia*; *Ay marit com no m'ho feu per pauch me feu Deu descreure per Deu dona no us cuyteu*.

In the Catalan manuscript a few words are often changed or added at the end of a story. The additions sometimes frame a pious wish that the good fortune of the hero or heroine may also be our lot. The blasphemous ending of *Giorn. 3*, 1 has been modified; *Giornate 7*, 2 and *7*, 3, each ends with a proverb, that of *7*, 2 being set down as peculiar to Aragon.

*Giorn. 1*, 1 ends : (cf. D. I, 63, 13 and 14.) *sopliquemlo que li placia que enles n'nes necessitats en les quals lo demanarem nos hoge ens socoregue, amen*.

1. These songs are given in full in the *Appendix A*.

*Giorn. 1, 2* (cf. D. I, 68.) adds : axi placia a deu vista nos altres.

*Giorn. 1, 4* (cf. D. I. 75) ends : p ffer lo joch acostumat.

*Giorn. 1, 6* (cf. D. I, 81, 43-46.) ends : mas pus no pogue tornar a ell tornas als frares qui tant sen eren risos e aquels coregi extremadañt dauant lo bon hom.

*Giorn. 1, 9* (cf. D. I, 90, 32-36) ends : Lo Rey hoides les raons ðla dona releuat de son mal pposit entench e conech so q̄ la dona li deye e aguda conaxêça de sa mala vida e de sa mala aministracio e regimñt pposa de ffer justicia a cascu e gran castich feu ðla iniuria ðla dona e execudor fon grã dels mals faytors e gran aministrador de justicia. E visque stã mñt tots temps p auat en sa vida.

*Giorn. 2, 2* (cf. D. I, 108, 21 *per altro* — end) ends : e de continent li fon tornat lo seu cauall e les sues robes e los ðiners e aq̄lls aq̄ll dia matex forẽ presos e malmenats e aduyts ala justicia. E p ço nra deuocio sia millor en mosenyer sant julia vos notiffich la psent istoria p la qual sia a vos altres manifest com ne pres en aq̄st q'en gran deuocio auia Sant Julia.

*Giorn. 2, 10* (cf. D. I, 191, 9 *caualcasse* — *chino*) ends caualcaua la cabra per los crins e no entenia la costuma de les dones posat que u podia fer pus se trobaua sol en hauer tall muller.

*Giorn. 3, 1* (cf. D. I, 202, 35, *affermando* — end) E veus qui guardo ret nre senyor en aq̄lls qui ental maña seruexẽ e fan bones hobres.

*Giorn. 3, 5* (cf. D. I, 226, 10 *Nè questa* — end) e posat q̄ fos p̄ma vegada sis fou la darrera car en aq̄ll punt mossen francesch vench de Mila lo qual p dreta gelosia axi tost com hi fonch anat, axi tost seu fonch tornat, e lasen mena p q̄ daqui auant llur amor hac fi p no hauer loch ne espay eno p fretura de bona volutat segõs de molto se saguex.

*Giorn. 4, 5* (cf. D. I, 303, verses) *Qualo fo quillo mal xiano Qui mi furau la resta meu basilico salernitano* <sup>1</sup>.

*Giorn. 5, 3* (cf. D. II, 30) adds : e nosaltres si fassam.

*Giorn. 5, 5* (cf. D. II, 4) : e si fassam nosaltres ab les nres.

*Giorn. 5, 6* (cf. D. II, 46) : aconsolats la hu del altre.

*Giorn. 5, 8* (cf. D. II, 60) adds : p que placia a cascuna de nosaltres auer amemoria de fora gitar crueltat e seguir le voluntat de aquells quins amẽ.

*Giorn. 6, 7* (cf. D. II, 95) ends : gloriejant se de son bon juy.

*Giorn. 7, 1* (cf. D. II, 119) adds : e encara queus mudets algunes paules pus noy mudets substãcia non val menys la virtuts ðles dites conjuracions.

*Giorn. 7, 2* (cf. D. II, 124) adds : E p ço diu en Arago sobre cuernos cincho soeldos.

1. Cf. *Decameron*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1894, vol. I, p. 304. Cf. also *infra*, p. 51.

*Giorn. 7, 3* (cf. D. II, 128) adds : e ells despuys moltes volt̄s ensemps se tornaren en llur conjuracio. E per ço diu hō q̄ beneyta es la casa on entre corona rasa.

*Giorn. 7, 6* (cf. D. II, 144) adds : e veus amor com dona presto remeys en aq̄lls qui la seruexen, car posat que la dona seguis la voluntat del caualler mes ho feya p̄ força q̄ p̄ amor e de dreta amor amaua leoneta, e p̄ ço lo deu de amor la hac p̄ recomanada en seues necessitats e li dona dels seus p̄sts remeys.

*Giorn. 8, 2* (cf. D. II, 181) adds : axi cō si dell hagues hagut tot lo mon.

*Giorn. 8, 8* (cf. D. II, 288) adds : e en aquesta maña q̄ comptat vos he los sdeuench si prech que tal vos prenga.

*Giorn. 9, 1* (cf. D. II, 261) adds : no scoltant los pus llurs ambaxades ne llurs rahonamēts ab justa excusa.

*Giorn. 9, 2* (cf. D. II, 264), adds : exceptat les velles {qui no pogueren trobare.

*Giorn. 9, 6* (cf. D. II, 283) last six words : = en si mateix estaua marauellada.

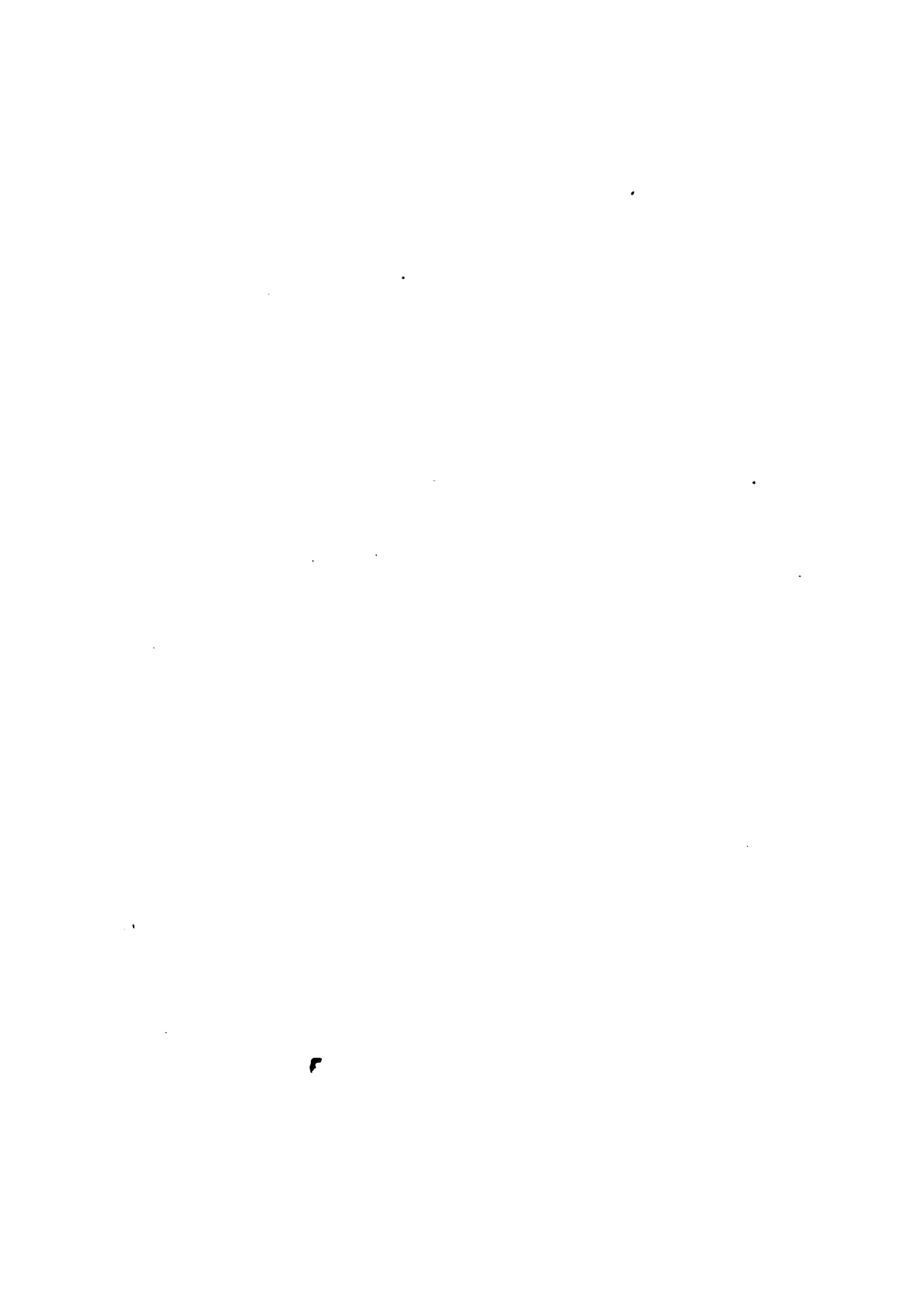
The book is bound in brown leather over boards. One clasp of the original four is left. On the back of the book a paper label half destroyed by worms reads : Las Cien (eaten) || manuscip-tas (eaten) || Catalan.

## 2. THE ESCORIAL MANUSCRIPT.

The only Castilian manuscript of the *Decameron* now known to exist is in the library of the Escorial, where its shelf mark is J-ij-21<sup>1</sup>.

The manuscript (referred to in this dissertation as *E*), consist of clxxvij leaves + 3 s. f. containing the *Tabla*; 273×198 mm.; 2 cols. except in the *Tabla*; height of column of writing from 195-200 mm.; width, 65-68 mm.; 34-35 lines to the column. The writing belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century, and two types of writing may be distinguished : the first, to be found from the beginning of the manuscript to the verso of

<sup>1</sup>. Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. II, col. 98, n<sup>o</sup> 1409.



culpa me ha dado tere uida  
si non esstia lo fusta en pte  
seua de omes que justos fue  
se es stan am quefella asy  
como yo que que los otros se  
teds a los ge males omes  
quelo oyeron qeyendo non  
otra mude si fecha su afectio  
amj amosstus que sonaua  
los palabros se lo huyeron 2 nuy  
budo esta si amocion le ade  
Si que ladona adia fecho en  
se de nuda su huyera con la  
vuestre al gualauz con di  
uertes a miges sobi sy ha fe  
cha de mofa 2 dexido su da  
pa ala carriaga de castañada  
en esta de uado la malicia

2 sintiendole tyo fuerte in  
via que toda la voluntad se fe  
bhyo de que quez a adst mostru  
to le dixo que o istes qe que  
fustes tal gesso por que te be q  
tadstyo ptes da la bagua fada da  
tal quez o tu non stamste a q llo q  
yo sinti qnd tu metiaste de  
los abellos 2 asi a buo palafte  
en orpala dona con tinuado su  
solas aillada mde guafdo los  
abello o da la bagua que repable a  
vna o el dia seguyent asu ama  
te enbrado los huyes da de ay a  
esta cuerpo la dona en mas pta su  
curo mas despues asy como e qlla  
que epadna de alto puyes 2 a  
uon le mostru a los vras mas  
u se pu stado que uoia tener

mys amotes q'ca dio e q'ella  
p'stuece el mundo & el dia del  
y ayuslan nro p'p'os n'chos e di  
as que se xendo en la cerna  
ta e en bu o con mostraro f'as  
cudo p'nges con d' conueno a  
p'ngal & el p' sola e ab'gund tu  
to t'p'ados leba p' los e al t'los  
( & diole con son de aber efecto  
la signada o'p'i adla de m'ada  
de p'p'os ( & p'p'os m'ent' va p'e  
quo f'p'lon le como de sub'p'ua

has os fructes d'los q'les q'nd  
y os fructes os nra d'no le c'f'ua  
x'ant' & elogo le d'ua ab'uec' f'e  
d'os los ba llama a an'os ad'os la  
d'ona & s' d'os e ent'end' q' los beas  
le soha & q' p' tanto q'nd ay os fructo  
s' p'nges q' b'lyest' las ab'cas b' p' a  
tras & a que s' no non d'x'ista sama s'  
ap'p'osua. los m'nos q' x'endo lo omi  
ay p'a arer' a q'lla ma'na q' uel a s' no fa  
les ab'ca mostrado p' q' h' dia v'ra be'g'ada  
p'ng'uo x'ux'os fructos tu f'g'ado & a  
q'bo q' q'os n'ra os f'ase q' u'ca'it' e f'ig'ue d'no  
s'ant' le be q'nd p'g'uar' p' q' b' s' la d'na

Expendio no







**R**espondeo non lo fagas que  
 yo te lo se desir / yo te lo he  
 buen tiempo allado por no te  
 fizes enojo / mas agora q yo  
 conosco que otr comença  
 a seguar dize non es más  
 de callar te lo esto no viene  
 por otra causa stuluo q la bo  
 ca te buele fiera mente /  
 non se qual sea la abstru  
 ca esto non solia ser / e aq  
 to es amy sista cosa ayen  
 do tu abstru con gentile / e  
 omes / **E** por esto yo q ma  
 auer manes de auer la

que tu lo erbas fuer  
 pprimeo al dno fuese  
 mas adelante **D**ixom  
 astrato estonoy pue  
 q te pises se stria bien q  
 cubriase por un maestro  
 q me lo qre / al qual la do  
 na dixo non plega adios  
 que ad por esto venga ma  
 esto que amy pises q  
 esta en manes q sy al  
 gun maestro yo te lo qm  
 te muy bien / de otra pare  
 estos maestros sy a sy  
 que les en fizes esto  
 seruios quel cosa con

de una faja y se le van  
dolo a una finestra le fiso  
abrir la boca e despues q la  
ouo de la vna parte e de la o  
troado dixo amosstrato e co  
m d lo es tu tanto podido so  
fir. Nui diente de agsta pi  
tienes danado e puse steme d  
todo podido e astra tuent  
si tu lo tienes algun tanto  
de tiemp en la boca del gasta  
ta aquellos que son cejan  
del poi que yo te aconsejara

manos del e por tanto  
lo qero faser yo mesma  
que alo menos si el te do  
liere mucho yo te dexare  
luego presta mente. Lo  
qual el maestro no fasia  
O fiso se luego vrrn los  
flectos de tal menester  
e en biada de la amata  
roca presbna sbla menit  
con fiso la lusa an de yo  
O dento estando fiso  
tender amosstrato en.  
vna alhoubra e metole



fol. lxxvj, col. 1, 6 lines from the end, and again from the beginning of fol. cxxxix to the end of the manuscript. The second writing, somewhat smaller and more ornate than the first, begins on folio lxxvj verso, 6 lines from the end, and continues to the end of folio cxxxvii verso.

The foliation is in the upper right hand corner. Folios 61-72 inclusive, owing to a mistake in binding are in the following order : 61, 66, 65, 64, 63, 62, 71, 70, 69, 68, 67, 72; folios 51 and 58 are unnumbered, and the ink of both is faded. The margin of fol. 59 has been cut down, leaving the sheet about two centimeters narrower than the others, and a little more than one centimeter shorter.

In the *Tabla*, the heading, the word *capit.* throughout, the numbers of the leaves upon which the stories occur, and the ¶, are in red; as are also the titles of the stories and the sign ¶ in the body of the book.

A space is left for a large initial capital at the beginning of every story and of every introduction which forms a separate division or paragraph. This space is never filled in, though it sometimes contains a very small letter to indicate the capital that should be placed there.

The first page of the *Tabla* has at the top the present shelf mark of the manuscript : J-ij-21. Close at the right of the shelf-mark is written *Boca* and beneath in the same hand as the *Boca* are the words *Nouelas de Juan Bocacio*. In the right hand upper corner of the page some old shelf-marks have been scratched out with a pen and the incomplete word *fabu* is twice written in the same corner. At the bottom of the page is the word *Prohibitus* (writing, last half sixteenth, or early seventeenth century).

The *Tabla* begins as follows :

Tabla del libro delas çiento nouelas el q̄l cõpuso juan bocaçio de cercaldo vn grãd poeta de florençia.

¶ aq̄ comiẽça el plogo deste libro —> a j foja.

The text begins fol. 1 r.

Este libro es delas çiento nouelas q̄ compuso juan bocaçio de çercaldo vn grant poeta de florêçia el qual libro segūd enel prologo siguiente paresçe el fizo τ enbio en espeçial alas nobles dueñas de florençia τ en geñāl a todas las señoras τ dueñas de qual q̄er naşçion τ Reyno q̄ sea po eneste presente libro non estan mas delas çinçta τ nueue nouelas E p̄mera mente comieça El prologo. ·.

¶ aquí comiença el prologo deste libro. ·./·./quando yo muy nobles dueñas entre mi pensando Reguardo de como vos otras natural mente seades benignas τ piadosas.

The text ends fol. clxxvij verso, col. 1 :

del daño fizo paz τ buē amor sus seruidores biuā (*sic*) τ mueran todos los çelosos τ sus compañeros.

Below this is scribbled, in sixteenth century script :

Yo le quiero anadie no se de por || me hazer med señor mensño || juan de || Velasco.

The signature is hard to read, but seems to be the above.

The manuscript is in a perfect state of preservation. It is bound with nicety in reddish brown leather and has the grill of Saint Laurence stamped upon both sides of the cover. The edges of the leaves are gilded, and when the book is closed a royal crown may be seen stamped into the edges of the leaves. The back of the book bears upon a paper label; *ijj Proh.* The water mark of the fly leaves and of the blank sheets at the end of the book, — a mailed hand with a six-pointed star rising from it, — is a mark of paper commonly used in Castile from 1555 to 1560<sup>1</sup>.

I have been unable to obtain satisfactory information about the history of *E*. In its exterior the book resembles the acquisitions made by the library at the end of the sixteenth century, certainly before the seventeenth. It belongs to the *primer fondo*,

1. The date of the use of this paper in Castile was communicated to me by Mr. de Bofarull. Cf. *supra*, page 29, note 1.

i. e., to the books which at the time of the foundation of the library were presented to it <sup>1</sup>.

This manuscript is not mentioned in the list of books belonging originally to the library of Felipe II., and a short mention only is accorded it in both the old and the new catalogues of the Escorial library. The modern catalogue states that the writing belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century and to this epoch the paper on which it is written would also assign the manuscript. Two different watermarks appear in the paper : by far the more usual is a pomegranate flower with one leaf springing from the stem and a cross growing out of the corolla of the flower ; the other seems intended to represent a pansy blossom, and has also a cross rising from the flower. I am told by Mr. Francisco de Bofarull, Director of the *Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón* in Barcelona, that the pomegranate flower with one leaf is a watermark of paper made in Italian mills, in frequent use at the middle of the fifteenth century. At the end of the fifteenth century paper with this mark was passing out of use.

The manuscript bears no internal marks which can throw light upon its earlier history. An old shelf-mark, 2, ψ, 6, on the *recto* of the last fly-leaf is unfamiliar and unintelligible to the chief librarian of the monastery, who is equally unable to interpret the words on the verso of this leaf : *es de la segunda caxa*.

No hint is to be found anywhere in the book concerning the translator of the manuscript.

As may be gathered from the statement heading the prologue to the stories in *E* : “ *po eneste presente libro non estan mas delas cinq̄ta τ nueue nouelas* ”, the manuscript does not contain, and was never intended to contain a complete translation of the *Decameron*. The statement that it contains fifty-nine *nouelas* is,

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1. For this information, I am indebted to the Padre Benigno Fernández, Chief Librarian of the Library of the Escorial.



however, inexact. *E* is divided into sixty *capitulos*; the Italian *Proemio* with its heading (cf. D. I 33-35, 5) is lacking; the prologue to the stories as we know it in the Italian *Decameron* (cf. D. I, 38-51) together with the introduction to the first story (cf. D. I, 54, 1-34) form the *prologo* and the first ten of these *capitulos*, each of which has a title. The stories proper begin with the eleventh *capitulo* and are therefore but 50 in number. The order of these *novelas* in *E*, in terms of the Italian *Decameron* is the following :

*Giornate* 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10; 2, 1; 4, 3; 6, 8, 2, 5; 8, 5; 9, 3, 4; 6, 3, 4; 10, 9; 6, 9, 10; 5, 1; 10, 8; 9, 9; 10, 1; 5, 3; 2, 4; 6, 1; 5, 6; 2, 6; 10, 3; 3, 5; 4, 1; 5, 8, 9, 4; 2, 10; 7, 7, 9; 8, 7; 7, 5, 6, 8; 10, 4, 5, 6; 7, 1, 2, 3, 4.

The Spanish *prologo* corresponds to D. I, 38, 1-25; the heading (*Comincia-ciascheduno*) is omitted.

The ten *capitulos* of the prologue and the fifty *novelas* have in *E* the following titles :

*Capitulo primero en que muestra el tiempo en que este libro fue fecho e la grand pestilencia que fue en florençia* (cf. D. I, 38, 26 *Dico*— 39, 44 *aressi* ).

*Capitulo ij dela crueldad e malicia de aquella pestilencia* (cf. D. I, 39, 44 *Dico*— 44, 27, *passati*) etc.<sup>1</sup>.

There is no division into days; the short introductions which, in the Italian *Decameron*, precede each *novella*, in the Escorial manuscript *a*) begin the story, as in the Italian, *b*) are omitted altogether, *c*) as in most instances, are appended to the story just told. The introduction of *Giorn. 1, 1* (Dec. I, p. 54, 1-34 inc.) forms a chapter apart, the tenth *capitulo*.

*a*) The introduction heads the story as in *novelas Giornate 1, 2, 6; 2, 1, 10; 5, 4; 7, 2, 6, 9; 8, 6;*

1. A complete list of the titles of the *capitulos* and *novelas* is given in the *Appendix*.

b) It is omitted in *novelas Giorn.* 1, 8; 4, 1; 7, 5;

c) It is appended to the previously told story in the case of *novelas Giorn.* 1, 3, 4, 9, 10; 2, 4, 6; 3, 5; 4, 3; 5, 1, 3, 6, 8, 9; 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10; 7, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8; 8, 5; 9, 3, 4, 9; 10, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.

These introductions (unless omitted) accompany the stories to which they belong in the Italian *Decameron* without regard to the order of stories followed in *E*. Thus it often happens that in *E* an introduction refers to a story which preceded it in the Italian *Decameron* and which does not precede it in the manuscript. For example, in *E*, *Giorn.* 1, 3, told by Filomena, is followed by *Giorn.* 1, 5, intact with its introduction, which refers to *Giorn.* 1, 4, told by Dioneo, and omitted in our manuscript.

*Last words of E cap. 3. (cf. Giorn. 1, 3; D. I, 71, 4-5.)*

“ sienpre lo tracto como amigo e non como seruidor e torno en grande e honorable estado ”.

*First words of E cap. 4. (cf. Giorn. 1, 4; D. I, 77, 1-2 ascoltanti).*

“ la nouella de Dioneo contado con vn poco de verguença pungio los coraçones de las dueñas presentes ”.

*Giorn.* 1, 3 (*E cap.* 20) told by Laureta, is followed in *E* by *Giorn.* 6, 8 (*E cap.* 21); the introduction of which refers to *Giorn.* 6, 7 (omitted in *E*).

*Last words of E cap. 20 (added at the end of Giorn. 4, 3; cf D. I, 294).*

“ este mal vicio de la yra daña al que lo faze e algunas vezes al que non ha culpa ”.

*First words of E cap. 21 (cf. Giorn. 6, 8; D. II, 97, 1-3 segno).*

“ la nouella de filostrato de suso Recontada con vn poco de verguença pungio los coraçones delas dueñas que escuchauan, lo qual se paresçio en los honestos colores... ”

*Giorn.* 8, 5 (*E cap.* 24) told by Filostrato, is followed by *Giorn.* 9, 3 (*E cap.* 25.), the introduction of which refers to *Giorn.* 9, 2 (omitted in *E*).

*Last words of E cap. 20* (cf. *Giorn. 8*, 5; D. II, 199, 17-18 *nèpiù-volta*).

"E asi la cosa non fue mas adelante".

*First words of E cap. 25* (cf. *Giorn. 9*, 3; D. II, 1-3 *compagne*).

"Pues que helisa su nouella acabada seyendo por todos rendidas gracias al nuestro señor dios que ala gentil monja auia dela enbidia de sus maliciosas compañeras con alegre fin ⁊ salida.

Of the introductions to the days, the only ones to appear in *E* are those of *Giornate 1, 2, 5* and *7*. The introduction to *Giorn. 2* follows *Giorn. 1*, 10, after the words "ottimamente vi guarderete" (cf. D. I, 94, 16), is without heading, and forms a new paragraph; that of *Giorn. 5* follows *Giorn. 6*, 10 (cf. D. II, 106, end) and makes a separate paragraph, though it has no heading. The introduction to *Giorn. 7* comes after the epilogue of *Giorn. 6* (cf. D. II, III, 8); new paragraph, no heading.

As may be learned from the list of the *novelle* included in *E*<sup>1</sup>, the last *novella* of the day is given in only three cases: *Giorn. 1, 2, 6*, and in but one of these instances (*Giorn. 6*) is the epilogue of the *Giornata* found; in the other two the text stops with the end of the *novela* proper (cf. a) D. I, 94; *E* omits l. 17, *Già era*-96 end; b) D. I, 191; *E* omits l. 9, *Questa novella*-192 end).

The epilogue of *Giorn. 6* (cf. D. II, 107-111 inc.), in *E* follows immediately upon *Giorn. 10*, 6 (*E cap. 56*; fol. clxiiij v. col. 1) without any interruption or change of paragraph. Elisa's song of five stanzas (cf. D. II, 110) is replaced in *E* by the four words *amor si poso usar*.

*Capitolo 25* (*Giorn. 9*, 3) is much extended by the introduction of a long speech of the Doctor's (cf. D. II, 266, 39, after *disse*), which dwells on the strangeness of Calandrino's malady, and the difficulty in curing it (cf. *E. f. xliij<sup>o</sup>. v<sup>o</sup>. a. l. 5. — b. l. 29*).

*Capitolo 50* (*Giorn. 8*, 7) is incomplete in *E*<sup>2</sup>, stopping with

1. Cf. *Appendix*.

2. Cf. List of titles in *E. Appendix B*.

the word *respondio* fol. cxlj v<sup>o</sup>, first col. line 21 (cf. D. II, 218, 16 *rispose*); the rest of the page, about a column and a third, is left blank.

*Capitolo* 54, set down in the *Tabla* as beginning on fol. 150, begins on fol. 153. From this story on the *Tabla* does not indicate on which folio the stories are to be found.

The title of *capitolo* 57 "de como el major domo juan leteuigie" <sup>1</sup> etc. is written down by mistake on fol. 164, where it interrupts the epilogue of *Giorn.* 6, 10, at a point corresponding to D. II, 108, 15: *Era ancora il sol....* <sup>2</sup> It occurs again upon fol. 167 v<sup>o</sup>, and is then followed by the story to which it belongs.

*E* has *Elisa* for *Filomena* (D. I, 48, 24), *Fiameta* for *Laureta*, and *Laureta* for *Fiameta* (D. I, 52, 21 and 22); and *la rreyna* for *il nostro Rey* (II, 300, 2).

The manuscript assigns *capitolo* 48 (D. II, 142, 2) to Neifile instead of to Fiammetta, and *cap.* 53 (D. II, 152, 5-6) to Elisa in place of Neifile.

It has been seen that *E* was originally intended to contain only a part of the stories of the *Decameron*. It is difficult, however, to discover any principle underlying the choice of the stories in this manuscript. They were certainly not selected with the intention of sparing the clergy, for *E* numbers among its *novelas* many of those which make the church and its priests the butt of their satire (*Giornate* 1, 1, 2, 6; 6, 10; 7, 3).

Was the question of morality influential in the choice? The manuscript does not, it is true, contain the most indecent of the *novelle* of the *Decameron*; nevertheless it includes *Giorn.* 5, 4; 7, 4, 3 and 9, and omits the tale of *Griselda* in which Boccaccio's

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 38.

2. Cf. *infra*, pp. 42-43.

moral intention is perhaps more obvious than in any other *novella* of the collection.

The stories can hardly have been chosen with sole regard to their literary superiority to others in the *Decameron*, for though, as a rule, the best of the Italian stories have been selected, some of the most skillfully told have been set aside, as for example *Giorn.* 8, 10, and 10, 7, which Menéndez y Pelayo calls “la más delicada y exquisita” of the *novelle* of Boccaccio<sup>1</sup>.

It seems likely that the selection of the stories was due to personal taste rather than to their correspondence with any formal standard. Stories are taken from every one of the ten *Giornate*, though the anonymous selector seems to have had a preference for those of a jovial and merry character. Nine tales have been selected from the seventh day, over which the somewhat too rollicking Dioneo presided, and eight from the sixth, the day given over to stories containing witty answers. The first day has also furnished eight stories, the tenth seven, the fifth six, the second four, the ninth three, the fourth and eighth two, and the third but one.

The text of the Escorial manuscript is intended to be a literal translation of the Italian; indeed, the anonymous translator follows his original with commendable faithfulness. The variations from it are slight, and become important only when considered in relation to the Catalan manuscript and to the edition of 1496. Grace of style the translator has not, — a fact possibly explained by his too great effort to keep close to his original. On the contrary, the language of the manuscript is in many instances confused, sometimes even to the point of unintelligibility, as the following examples will show :

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1. *Antología, prólogo*, vol. V, p. CCLXIV.

D. I, 65, 10-15.

[et io nel mio intendo di dimostrarvi] quanto aquesta medesima benignità sostenendo pazientemente i difetti di coloro li quali d'essa ne deono dare e colle opere e colle parole, vera testimonianza, il contrario operando, di sè argomento d'infallibile verità ne dimostri, acciò che quello che noi crediamo con più fermezza d'animo seguitiamo.

D. I, 290, 15-19.

la quale nuina altra cosa è che un movimento subito et inconsiderato, da sentita tristizia sospinto; il quale, ogni ragione cacciata, e gli occhi della mente avendo di tenebre offuscati, in ferventissimo furore accende l'anima nostra.

• D. II, 85, 9-11.

che essi come la pecora morde deono così mordere l'uditore, e non come il cane; per ciò che se come cane mordesse il motto, non sarebbe motto, ma villanía.

*E. cap. 12. f. xvij rº b. l. 25.*

τ asi mesmo yo en mi nouella entiendo mostrar quanto aquesta benignidad sosteniento (*sic*) paçientemente los defectos de aquellos los quales sus obras τ sus palabras muestran τ declaran quanta τ quand piadosa ella sea por que aquello que por fe tenemos con grande firmeza poco menos que por vista lo creamos τ afirmemos.

*E. cap. 19. f. xxxj, vº b. l. 31.*

porque no es pecado nin viçio que vn momento τ subitamente syn alguna consideracyon mouydo por vna angustiosa tristeza, prouando toda razon τ con obscuras tinieblas turbando la clara vision de los ojos, encendiendo los coraçones con muy ardiente saña.

*E. cap. 26. f. xlviij vº b. l. 22.*

digo que deuen morder como auejas (*sic*) τ non como canes mordiesen, non seria palabra graciosa mas cruesa τ maliçia.

In several instances, blank spaces replace words presumably illegible to the writer of *E* :

D. II, 42, 21-23.

di scoglio in iscoglio andando marine conche con un coltello dalle pietre spiccando.

*E. cap. 39. f. xcij vº a. l. 7-8 çercando.*

con cuchillo — de piedras mar — τ asi andando entre los peñedos.

D. II, 147, 13-15.

et avendo copia di vedere assai spesso la sua donna, tanto bene e si a grado cominciò...

*E. cap. 48. f. cxiiiij rº a. l. 27-30.*

τ aviendo manera de verla τ avn muy espesament a su dona bien — τ asi agrado començo a servir a egano.

D. II, 164, 39-41.  
che essi quivi dinanzi a lui mai a  
tale atto non si dovessero esser con-  
dotti, lasciate stare le parole e le  
riprensioni.

D. II, 342, 20-21.  
io diro che io sia di città fiorentis-  
sima d'arme d'inperio e di studj.

*E. cap.* 49. f. cxxxj. r<sup>o</sup> a. l. 11-15.  
que ellos asi delante del jamas a tal  
acto non deuiesen ser aduzidos, dexa-  
das estas muchas vezes τ — a las  
reprehensiones de tal manera començo  
a dezir . . .

*E. cap.* 33. f. lxxvij. r<sup>o</sup> b. l. 27-30.  
yo dire que yo so çibdadano de la  
çibdad florentissima en — τ imperio  
τ señora de todo el mundo.

Mutilation of the manuscript (either in Italian or in Spanish) which the writer of *E* had before him, is perhaps responsible for the corrupt state of the text throughout the fiftieth *capitulo* (*Giorn.* 8, 7). The title of the *novela* lacks the last three words as given in the *Tabla*: *moscas y tauanos*.

Words are lacking and a blank substituted for them: *m'adombreranno*, *E. f.* cxxxix, r<sup>o</sup> a. l. 28 (cf. D. II, 215, 2); *opportuna*, *E. f.* cxi. r<sup>o</sup> b. l. 28 (cf. D. II, 216, 39.). The story stops abruptly (after the word *rispose*, cf. D. II, 218, 12) on the verso of fol. cxlj, at the twenty-first line, and the rest of the page is left blank. The text of this tale is full of readings quite devoid of meaning as may be seen by the following examples.

D. II, 216, 18-25.  
io sono, quando tu perdonar mi  
vogli e di quinci farmi discendere,  
acconcia d'abbandonar del tutto il  
desleal giovane e te solo aver per ama-  
dore e per signore, quantunque tu  
molto la mi bellezza biasimi, breve e  
poco cara mostrandola; la quale  
chente che ella, insieme con quella  
dell'altre si sia purso che, se per altro  
non fosse da aver cara, si e per ciò  
che vaghezza e trastullo e diletto è  
della giovanezza degli uomini; e tu  
no se' vecchio.

*E. cap.* 50. f. cxi r<sup>o</sup> a. l. 12-28.  
que de aqui adelante quando aty  
plega de me perdonar τ de aqui me  
fazer descender, yo so presta de dexar  
el desleal joven E aty solo amar, E  
avn por amador τ por señor, como  
quier que tu la mi voluntad vituperias  
breuemēt la qual cuenta τ qual en  
vno con aquella delas otras se sea  
enpero se que sy por otra cabsa fuese  
de ser amada si es por tanto que  
donayre τ gentileza τ deleyte es dela  
jouentud de los om̄s, τ tu non seas  
viejo.

214, 42.  
di nieve piena.

f. cxxxviii vº a. l. 31.  
de vino q̄ lleno.

217, 22-25.  
et il trottar forte rompe e starca  
altrui quantunque sia giovane, dove  
il soavemente andare ancora che al-  
quanto più tardi altrui meni allo  
albergo, egli il vi conduce almen ripo-  
sato.

f. cxlj rº a. l. 8-13.  
z al troctar. Rezio *quebrantan* las  
trauas z quando el vno tarda mas  
*quel* otro deue lo suavement esperar z  
con dulçes palabras fazerle andar.

I cannot account for the corrupt condition of the text of this story otherwise than by supposing that the manuscript, Italian or Spanish, to which the writer had access, was torn or otherwise disfigured in the pages containing this *novela*.

Almost all the Latin words or phrases of the Italian *Decameron*, infrequent as they are, are mistranslated or omitted in *E*. "Non che *ex proposito* detta" (D. I, 90, 5-6) is translated "que en su tiempo propuso sea dicha"; "*cum gladiis et fustibus* impetuosissimamente corse" (D. I, 80, 14) is rendered "mouiose muy figuroso" the latin phrase being ignored altogether. The words *Te lucis* and *'ntemerata* (D. II, 117, 48) are set down *entre lugar* and *intomerata*.

### III. THE EARLIEST SPANISH EDITION OF THE *DECAMERON*

The first Spanish edition of the *Decameron* was printed in Seville in 1496. Among the bibliographers the only one to mention a definite copy of this edition is Konrad Haebler<sup>1</sup>

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1. Konrad Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*. La Haya, Leipzig, 1904, nº 54.



who states that a copy of it is to be found in the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels.

This volume bears the shelf-mark Incun. 141. Gothic letter; 2 col., cxcvij ffs. (fol. 1 s. f.) + 4 preliminary leaves, the first of these the title page, the three others containing the *Tabla* in 2 col.; — 292 × 210 mm., height of printed col. 220 mm., width, 72 mm. — 45 lines to the col. Signatures a-z, the gatherings of 8 leaves each except q, + two others: z, 6 leaves (fol. clxxxiiij-clxxxviii incl.), and z, originally of 10 leaves of which the last one is now wanting (fol. clxxxix-cxcvi incl.). Signature q is incomplete, comprising but 6 leaves, q, q ij, q iij + 3 leaves without signature. Signature q begins fol. cxxi; folios cxxi-cxxx are numbered as follows: cxxj, cxxij, cxxiiij, cxxviiij, cxxvij, cxxvj, cxxvij, cxxix, cxxx —, but there is no confusion in the text corresponding to this disorder in the foliation.

The first leaf of the gathering of sig. t (fol. cxliij) lacks the sign t; the gathering of the signature is, however, complete, the lettering only of the first leaf being wanting.

The title-page is in large Gothic letters and reads:

Las C no || uelas de Juã || Bocacio.

*Tabla* (unnumbered page 3):

☉ Comiença la tabla o || Registro desta presente obra : llamada || las Ciente (sic) nouellas de Juan bocacio.

The text begins fol. 1 (s. f.):

☉ Aquí comiença el li || bro delas cient nouellas de micer Juan || bocacio de certaldo poeta eloquente ||. Prologo. ||

Quãdo yo muy nobles señoras entre mi pêsando Reguardo como vos otras naturalmête seades benignas z piadosas. Claramente conozco...

The text ends fol. cxcvij recto.

Aquí se acaban las Ciento nouellas || de Miçer Juan bocacio. poeta



Pl. 5

W. H. & C. NO

uclastofua  
Bocacio.

THE EDITION OF SEVILLE 1496

Title-page



eloquē = || te. Impressas enla muy noble z muy le = || al cibdad de Seuilla : por Meynardo || vngut alemano. z Stanislao polono cō || pañeros. Enel año de nño señor Mill || quatrociētos nouēta z seys. a ocho dias || del mes de nouiembre. || Printer's mark.

The arrangement of the stories in the first edition in Spanish of the *Decameron* (here called *S*), is widely different from that of the Italian *Decameron* as we know it, in that instead of being divided into ten groups of ten stories each, they are irregularly distributed and numbered consecutively from one to one hundred. Nevertheless the editor of *S* certainly was not wholly forgetful of the original division into days, for *capítulo* 8 tells how the band elected Pampinea queen for the first *day*, and the *capitulos* to *novelas* 11, 21, 31, 52 and 57 recount the choosing of a new king or queen <sup>1</sup>.

Neither in the *Tabla* nor in the body of the book is there any mention of *novela* number 36, but its absence is made good by the addition of an unnumbered *novela* (*Giorn.* 8, 9) after *novela* 100. *Novella Giorn.* 9, 5 is lacking, but as a story (no. 73) not written by Boccaccio is introduced into the collection, *S* nevertheless contains one hundred stories.

In terms of the Italian *Decameron*, the order of the stories in *S* is the following :

*Giornate* : 1, 1, 2, 3, 9, 8, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10; 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 3, 9; 2, 10; 5, 1, 6, 3, 7, 8; 3, 4; 7, 3; 9, 6; 7, 5; 3, 2; 4, 1, 2, 6, 3, 4; 8, 5; 4, 9; 8, 8; 9, 2; 4, 10; 6, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10; 8, 1, 2; 9, 3; 8, 10; 9, 9; 10, 1, 3, 6, 8, 9; 3, 5; 5, 4; 7, 8, 7, 9; 8, 7; 10, 4, 5; 7, 1, 2, 4; 2, 9; 3, 7, 6; 5, 9; 9, 10; 10, 10; 9, 4; 3, 1, 3, 10, 8; 4, 5, 8; 5, 2, 10; 7, 6, 10; 8, 3, 4, 6; 9, 8; 10, 7, 2; 9, 1; 4, 7; 5, 5; 9, 7; 8, 9.

1. As the prologues and epilogues of the Italian *Giornate* are rarely preserved they will be considered after the discussion of the introductions to the separate stories. Cf. *infra*, pp. 49-50.

The *Proemio* of the Italian (cf. D. I, 33-35), with its heading, is wanting.

The first paragraph of the Italian text (cf. D. I, 38, 1-25) forms the *Prologo* to the Spanish edition, the heading (cf. D. I, 38, *comincia — ciascheduno*) being omitted; while the remainder of the Italian introduction (cf. D. I, 38, 26-51 end) and the first paragraph of the first story (cf. D. I, 54, 1-34) are divided into 12 *capitulos*, with the following headings:

Capitulo en que año vino la pestilencia en la egregia e muy noble ciudad de Florencia (cf. D. I, 38, 26 *Dico* — 39, 44 *avessi*).

Capitulo de la manera que se tenia contra la pestilencia (cf. D. I, 39, 44 *Dico* — 44, 27 *passati*), etc.

The introductions to the stories from 1-61 are in separate *capitulos*, preceding the *novelas*. After *novela* 61 there are no more *capitulos*, the introductions being either omitted, as in *novelas* 62, 63, 64, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76 and from 79-101 incl. (cf. D. *Giorn.* 3, 5; 5, 4; 7, 8; 10, 4; 7, 1, 4; 2, 9; 3, 7; 10, 10; 9, 9; 3, 1, 3, 10, 8; 4, 5, 8; 5, 5, 10; 7, 6, 10; 8, 3, 4, 6; 9, 8; 10, 7, 2; 9, 1; 4, 7; 5, 5; 9, 7; 8, 9); or included with the *novela* under the title, as in *novelas* 65, 66, 67, 69, 71, 77, 78 (cf. D. *Giorn.* 7, 7, 9; 8, 7; 10, 5; 7, 2; 3, 6; 5, 9; 9, 10).

In many cases *S* ascribes the stories to other narrators than those who tell the corresponding story in the original<sup>1</sup>.

1. The name of the narrator is changed in the following cases:

<i>Giorn.</i>	D	S	<i>Giorn.</i>	D	S
1,6	Emilia	Helisa	4,6	Pamfilo	Flameta
1,9	Elisa	Hemilia	4,9	Filostrato	Neifile
3,2	Pampinea	Neifile	4,10	Dioneo	Filomena
3,4	Pamfilo	Dioneo	5,2	Emilia	Laureta
3,6	Fiammetta	Dioneo	5,3	Elisa	Filomena
3,7	Elisa	Filomena	5,7	told by Laureta but referred to as the story of Filomena in <i>S</i>	
4,1	Fiammetta	Pamfilo			

In *S*, many of the introductory *capitulos* differ from the corresponding introductions in the Italian. In some cases

a) The only essential difference is in the name of the narrator, either of the story just told, or of the one about to be related; or in the reference to *la Reyna* instead of *Il Re* or the reverse <sup>1</sup>.

b) Words, or sometimes lines, have been changed to suit the new order of the stories, while the remainder of the Italian introduction has been retained in a more or less exact translation <sup>2</sup>.

<i>Giorn.</i>	D.	S.	<i>Giorn.</i>	D.	S.
5,8	Filomena	Neyfile	7,5	Fiammetta	Hemilia
5,9	Fiammetta	Dioneo	7,8	Neifile	Filostrato
6,1	Filomena	Helisa	7,9	Pamfilo	Emilia
6,2	Pampinea	Pamphilio	8,5	Filostrato	Dioneo
6,3	Lauretta	Neifile	8,8	Fiammetta	El rey
6,4	Neifile	Laureta	8,10	Dioneo	Panpinea
6,5	Pamfilo	Pampinea	9,2	Elisa	Hemilia
6,6	Fiammetta	Filomena	9,6	Pamfilo	Filostrato
6,9	Elisa	Flameta	10,8	Filomena	Panpinea

As there are neither *capitulos* nor introductions to *novelas* 62-64 incl., 68, 70, 72, 74-76 incl. and 79-101 incl. (cf. page 46), it is in the majority of these cases impossible to determine to whom *S* meant these tales to be ascribed. We know the narrator of 75 (*Giorn.* 3,7) by a reference to her in the introduction to 76. 76 is told by Dioneo, but is referred to in 77 as the story told by the queen. 77 is also told by Dioneo, and again in the introduction to 78 ascribed to the queen.

1. Cf. *capitulos* of *novelas* 4 (*G.* 1,9); 8 (*G.* 1,6); 9 (*G.* 1,7); 25 (*G.* 5,8); 34 (*G.* 4,3); 41 (*G.* 4,10); 42 (*G.* 6,5); 43 (*G.* 6,6); 44 (*G.* 6,7); 45 (*G.* 6,8).

2. Examples: the *capitulos* of *novelas* 5 (*G.* 1,8); 6 (*G.* 1,4); 10 (*G.* 1,10); 26 (*G.* 3,4); 30 (*G.* 3,2); 38 (*G.* 4,9); 39 (*G.* 8,6); 40 (*G.* 9,2); 50 (*G.* 6,9); 54 (*G.* 9,3); 56 (*G.* 9,9); 58 (*G.* 10,3); 59 (*G.* 10,6). The *capitulo* to 10 (*G.* 1,10) reads: « Fenescida la nouella de filostrato, de todos muy loada la industria de bergamino (cf. *Giorn.* 1,7), sētiēdo la reyna q̄ a ella venia la carga de la postrimera nouella desta jornada, comēço assi » and continues as in the Italian (cf. D. I, p. 92. l. 3 *Valorose giovani*).



c) Parts of two Italian introductions have been combined <sup>1</sup>; or the introduction to a *Giornata* together with the introduction to a particular story, forms a single *capitulo* <sup>2</sup>.

d) The introduction of one Italian story is substituted for that of another <sup>3</sup>.

e) The Spanish *capitulo* differs as a whole from the corresponding Italian introduction <sup>4</sup>.

The latter part of the *capitulo to novela* 30 (*Giorn.* 3, 2) refers to the story of Masetto (*Giorn.* 3, 1) which as it is *novela* 81 in *S*, does not occur till much later.

The Italian *Decameron* has no equivalent in title or content to the *capitulo to novela* 37, which is headed :

Como el rey mando a dioneo que consolasse las dueñas con alegre novella.

The introduction to *novela* 76 begins :

La nouella de Filomena acabada ninguna otra cosa quedaua mas adelante

1. Cf. *capitulos* of stories 23 (cf. D. II, 48, 1-5 + II, 25, 4 (A me-7); 55 (II, 269, 1-11 + II, 244, 5-72); 60 (II, 329 1-4 + II 335, 3 *Magnífiche*-16).

2. Examples : *capitulos to novelas* II (cf. D. I, 98, 1-17 + I, 99, 1-8); 21 (cf. D. II, 5, 1-27 + II, 7, 1-10); 52 (cf. D. I, 98 1-17 + II, 175, 1-21); 57 (II 299, 1-18 + II, 300, 1-7).

3. For its introductory *capitulo, nov.* 31 (*Giorn.* 4, 1); has the introduction to *Giorn.* 10 (cf. D. II, 299, 1-18) and *novella* 42 is preceded by the introduction to *Giorn.* 5 (cf. D. II, 5, 1-27).

4. Cf. *capitulos* of stories 19 (3, 9); 24 (5, 7); 27 (7, 3); 28 (9, 6); 33 (4, 3). The *capitulo of novella* 19 reads : « Capitulo como nouello la Reyna Oyda la nouella Recontada por helisa : e seyendo de toda la honesta compañía muy loada tanto que algunos ouo que con sospiros e ojos piadosos reguardarõ ala su reyna : La qual sin ser mas solicitada ni afincada por ruegos delos sus subditos con muy plazible viso començo asi. Señoras mias quien podria dar fin alos accidentes e casos dña fortuna : por cierto yo creo que tantos e tales sean que a penas se puedan complidamente oy recontar. Porlo qual yo vos entiendo dezir en vna mi novella en quanta fortuna se vio vna donzella enamorada : en la qual podreys comprehender para adelante (cf. D. I, 254, l. 1-10).

dezir que dioneo, quando loada la noble respuesta del judio. En puso la reyna a dioneo que procediesse con vna, el que todo riendo respondio,

and continues D. I, 227, 4—233, 7. The preceding story in *S* says nothing of any Jew; this Spanish introduction may be reminiscent of the Italian introduction to *Giorn.* 1, 4; *Giorn.* 1, 3 tells the story of the Jew Melchisedech's wise reply to Saladin.

That the changes in the introductions were consciously made cannot be doubted, for comparing the order of the stories in *D* and *S*, we see that where in *S* several stories retain the Italian order, there is no change in the *capitulo*, or at most only a change in the narrator<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the *capitulos* of the first eight stories of *Giornata* 2, which are in the familiar Italian order, correspond exactly to the Italian introductions to the same *novelle*. Again, the stories of *Giornata* 6 are consecutive, though they follow only in part the Italian order (*S*, 5, 6, 7, 8. 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10). Such of their *capitulos* as differ from the corresponding Italian introductions, vary only in the name of the teller, except in the case of the *capitulo* to *Giorn.* 6, 9, where the first three lines of the Italian suffer a slight variation consequent upon the change in order of the stories.

Evidently the *capitulos* in *S* have been arranged to suit the new order of the stories.

The incorrect *capitulo* to *novela* 30 (*Giorn.* 3, 2) which refers to *Giorn.* 3, 1 (*S*, *nov.* 81) must be looked upon as an oversight on the part of the person who set in order the manuscript from which *S* was printed. The same may be said of the introduction to *novela* 76.

The introductions to *Giornate* 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are omitted (cf. D. I, 195-197; 268-273; II, 78-79; 114; 174; 256).

The introduction to *Giornata* 5 (D. II, 5, 1-27) forms the

1. Cf. *supra*, p 47, notes 1 and 2.

first part of the *capitolo* preceding *novela* 21, the first paragraph of *Giorn.* 5, 1 (cf. D. II, 7, 1-10) making up the remainder of it.

The introduction to *Giornata* 2 (cf. D. I, 98, 1-17) occurs twice in *S*, once with the first paragraph of *Giorn.* 2, 1 (cf. D. I, 99, 1-8) as *capitolo* to *novela* 11 (*Giorn.* 2, 1) and once with the introduction of *Giorn.* 8, 1 (cf. D. II, 175, 1-21) as *capitolo* to the 52 story (*Giorn.* 8, 1)<sup>1</sup>. The introduction to the tenth day is also twice used (cf. D. II, 299); by itself, it forms the *capitolo* to *novela* 31 (*Giorn.* 4, 1) and in combination with the introduction to *Giorn.* 10, 1 (cf. D. II, 300, 1-7) it constitutes the *capitolo* to *novela* 5, 7 (*Giorn.* 10, 1)<sup>2</sup>.

The epilogues of the *Giornate* are omitted in *S*, where the conclusion of the story ends the days entertainment. *S* therefore contains nothing to correspond to D. I, 94-96; 191, 9-192; 264, 33-226; 332, 20, *in meglio*-334; II, 74, 8-75; 107-111; 170, 38-172; 256, 6-253; 296, 30-297.

*Novela* 67 is a translation of *Giorn.* 8, 7 as far as the word *posti* (cf. D. II, 218, 16). Here it changes abruptly and ends in the following manner: the scholar restores her clothes to his victim, and the two then return to his dwelling place, where in the words of the account given in *S* (cf. fo cxxxv, v<sup>o</sup> col. b) "desque bien comido houieron: ambos en vn lecho fueron a yazer: donde despues que mucha lealtad e buena vida, mucho tiempo viuieron".

*Novela* 69 lacks from *moglie* (cf. D. II, 319, 12) to *fe presentare* (cf. D. II, 320, 27).

*Novela* 73, as has been stated, is not found in the Italian *Decameron*, nor is it written by Boccaccio. My inquiries in Italy

1. Cf. p. 48, note 2.

2. Cf. *supra* p. 48, c.

and elsewhere and my own personal research have been unsuccessful in discovering its authorship. It is told by Dioneo.

*Novela 79* (*Giorn.* 10, 10) is a close translation, not of Boccaccio's *Griselda* story, but of Petrarch's Latin version of Boccaccio's tale. This is considerably longer than the *Griselda* of the Italian *Decameron*, and ends with an exhortation to all men to endure their trials as patiently as *Griselda* did hers.

The *ballata* of *Giorn.* 10, 7 (cf. D. II, 331) is rendered into verse. The translation is close, and the verse form of the Italian has been preserved excepting that each of the three ten line stanzas closes with the refrain *Parte te amor*.

In *S*, the two lines of verse which close *novela 85* (*Giorn.* 4, 5; cf. D. I, 303, end.) read: *Aquel fue mal xpiano que me hurto el albahaquero salernitano*, this being an exact translation of the first two lines of a somewhat more recent form of this Sicilian song than that given in our Italian *Decameron* <sup>1</sup>.

It seems improbable that an early Italian edition of the *Decameron* should have served as model to the translator of *S*, for even the earliest Italian editions differ only in a few most insignificant details from the subsequent ones <sup>2</sup>. In no early Italian edition do we find stories, or even whole *Giornate*, transferred from their proper place <sup>3</sup>, nor are the epilogues to the *Giornate* ever thrown aside as unimportant.

The question of a manuscript prototype of *S* can be discussed only in the light of a comparison between this earliest Spanish edition and the Escorial manuscript.

In comparing the manuscript and the edition we are struck by numerous coincidences between them :

1. Cf. *Decameron*, Milano, Sonzogno, 1894, p. 304, note 14; also *supra*, p. 31, note 1.

2. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris, 1860, vol. I, cols. 994-1004, and *Le Opere Volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV*, indicate e descritte da Francesco Zambrini, Quarta edizione. Con appendice, Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1884, col. 80-85.

3. Cf. Comparative Table, *Appendix C. Giorn.* 6.

## I. Coincidences in wording.

## II. Coincidences in arrangement.

## I. Coincidences in wording. a) General textual agreement.

D. I. 54, 35.

Ragionasi adunque che essendo Musciatto Franzesi di richissimo e gran mercatante cavalier divenuto, e dovendone in Toscana venire con Messer Carlo Senzaterra, fratello del re di Francia, da papa Bonifazio addomandato, et al venir promosso, sentendo egli gli fatti suoi si come le più volte son quegli de' mercatanti, molto intralciati in quà et in là, e non potersi di leggere ne subitamente stralciare, pensò quegli commettere a piu persone et a tutti trovò modo fuor solamente in dubbio gli rimase, cui lasciar potesse sufficiente a riscuoter suoi crediti fatti a più Borgognoni. E la cagion del dubbio era il sentire li Borgognone uomini riottosi e di mala condizione e misleali; et a lui non andava per la memoria chi tanto malvaggio uom fosse, in cui egli potesse alcuna fidanza avere che opporre alla loro malvagità si potesse.

E fol. xij<sup>ro</sup> col a. l. 13.

Dizese pues señores que muçiato françes seyendo muy rico mercadante en ffrançia ⁊ alcançando la honor ⁊ orden de Caualleria E auiedo de yr en toscana con carrlos syn tierra hermano del Rey de françia, que a rrequesta del papa bonifaçio passua en ytalia sintiendo muçiato ⁊ acordandose que su fazienda ⁊ mercaderias coño a los mercadores suelen fazer, estauan en diuersas partes E no podiente asi ligeramente las Recabdar nin allegar penso de dar carga dello a çiertas personas ⁊ a todo esto fallo manera solamente de fallar suficiente persona aquien diese cargo de cobrarlo que en algunos borgeñones le era deuido coño estos de su condiçion fuesen omnes malos ⁊ desleales ⁊ de dura conuersaçion E non podia el pensar do fallasse vn tal omne cuya malicia bastase atrabajar ⁊ concludyr la malicia de aquellos.

S. fol. vij. v<sup>o</sup> a. l. 8.

Dize pues señoras mias que muçiato françes, seyendo muy rico mercadante en ffrançia ⁊ alcançando orden dela caualleria: el qual auiedo de yr en toscana con carlos sintierra, hermano del Rey de Françia que arequesta del papa Bonifaçio passua en ytalia sintiendo esto muçiato acordando se que su fazienda ⁊ mercançias como a los mercadantes suele acaesçer estauan derramadas en diuersas partes: ⁊ ya no pudiendo ligeramente recaudallas: ni allegar las penso de dar carga dello a çiertas personas. E a todo esto fallo manera solamente le era graue de fallar suficiente persona aquien diese cargo de cobrar lo que en algunos borgeñones le era deuido como estos de su condiçion fuesen onbres malos ⁊ desleales: ⁊ de dura conuersaçion: ⁊ no podia pensar do el fallasse vn tal mal onbre cuya malicia abastase a atajar ⁊ concludyr la malicia de aquellos.

b) An agreement in the proper names of places and characters; these proper names sometimes differ entirely from those of the Italian *Decameron*, and sometimes are corrupt forms of the same names.

D. II, 100, 4. Santa Reparata	<i>E. nov.</i> 30. Sancta liberata	<i>S. nov.</i> 50. sancta liberata
II, 290, 33. Antioccia	<i>nov.</i> 34. Archiana	<i>nov.</i> 56. Archiana
II, 25, 9. Pietro Boccamazza	<i>nov.</i> 36. pedro boca negra	<i>nov.</i> 23. pedro boca negra
II, 121, 36. Giannello stringario	<i>nov.</i> 56. juan estimaço	<i>nov.</i> 71. juan estimaço

c) A noteworthy verbal agreement between phrases or longer passages which either

1) are additions to D' s text.

2) diverge from corresponding passages in D, or

3) are incorrect translations of corresponding passages in D.

1) Additions to D's text :

D. I, 294 end.	<i>E. cap.</i> 20. f. xxxv, vº l. 28 adds : de lo qual se con- cluye aquellos ( <i>sic</i> ) que yo al comienço dixे que este mal viçio de la yra daña al que lo faze τ algunas vezes al que no ha culpa.	<i>S. nov.</i> 34. f. lxxix vº b. l. 17. adds : De lo qual se con- cluye aquello que yo al comienço dixе que este mal viçio τ pecado de la yra daña al que lo faze : τ algunas vezes al que no no ( <i>sic</i> ) ha en ello culpa.
II, 198, 13 bet. <i>bene</i> and <i>Aveva.</i>	<i>cap.</i> 24. f. xlj. rº a. l. 2. adds : ...τ syn peligro nues- tro τ syn honor τ con verguença suya.	<i>nov.</i> 37. f. lxxxj. vº a. l. 41. adds : ... fazer sin peligro nuestro τ sin honor τ verguença suya.
II, 361, end.	<i>cap.</i> 29 f. lix, rº a. l. 26 adds : pues el fyn que aque- llos fazen non concuer- dan ( <i>sic</i> ) con el suyo.	<i>nov.</i> 61. f. cxxij rº b. l. 22. adds : pues el fin a que ellos lo fazen no con- cuerda con el suyo.

2) Passages agreeing in *E* and *S*, and diverging from corresponding passages in *D*.

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>D. I. 93, 47—94, 3.<br/>...e mangiare lupini e porri; e come nel porro niuna cosa sia buona, pur men reo e più piacevole alla bocca è il capo di quello, il quale voi generalmente da torto appetito tirate, il capo vi tenete in mano, e manicate le frondi, le quali non solamente non sono da cosa alcuna, ma son di malvagio sapore.</p> | <p><i>E cap.</i> 18. f.xxviii, r<sup>o</sup> b. l. 35.<br/>z vy que muchas dellas o la mayor parte non querian comer los preciosos delicados manjares que les ponian delante. E no se qual fuesse el su apetito o porque lo fiziesen, mas vyque dexando aquellos manjares comyan vna sardina z vn poco de pescado o vaca z asy de algunos manjares nin dulçes alapetito nin prouechosos ala complysion.</p> | <p><i>S. nov.</i> 4. f. xix v<sup>o</sup>. a. l. 5.<br/>E vi que muchas dellas o la mayor parte no querian comer los preciosos z delicados manjares que les ponian delante. E no se qual fuesse el apetito o porque lo fiziesen; mas vi que dexando aquellos preciosos manjares comian vna sardina : o vn poco de pescado o vaca. E assi de algunos manjares ni dulces al apetito, ni prouechosos a la complision.</p> |
| <p>II, 80, l. 31-32.<br/>al quale forse non stava meglio la spada allato chè'l novellar nella lingua.</p>   | <p><i>E cap.</i> 38.f.xcj,v<sup>o</sup> b.l.17.<br/>here this phrase occurs bet. <i>brigatta</i> and <i>Madonna</i>, cf. D.l. 27.<br/>al qual si mal estaua la espada al lado, non mejor el novellar en la boca.</p>  | <p><i>S. nov.</i> 46. f. lxxxiiiij. r<sup>o</sup> a. l. 23, as in <i>E</i>, after D. l. 27 :<br/>al qual si mal estaua la espada al lado, non mejor el nouellar en la boca.</p>  |
| <p>II, 98, 4-6 :<br/>ma ella più che una canna vana, et a cui di senno pareva pareggiar Salamone, non altramenti che un montone avrebbe fatto intese il vero motto di Fresco.</p>   | <p><i>E cap.</i> 21. f. xxxvi v<sup>o</sup> a. l. 16.<br/>mas aquella que mas vana era que una caña z con la groseria z nescedad que tenia non conosçia sus tachas antes creya vençer de fermosura a poliçena, z de seso a salamon, non entendio la graciosa z breue palabra de fresco.</p>   | <p><i>S. nov.</i> 45. f. xci, v<sup>o</sup> a. l. 41.<br/>mas aquella que mas vana era que una caña z con la grosseria z nescedad non conosçia sus tachas, antes creya vençer de fermosura a poliçena z de seso a salamon, non entendiendo la graciosa z breue palabra di froasco.</p>   |

## 3) Incorrect translations of corresponding passages in D.

D. II, 97, 15-17. E chiamata per vezzi Ciesca la quale, ancora que bella persona avesse e viso (non però di quegli angelici che già molte volte vedemo).	<i>E. cap.</i> 21. f. xxxvj. r <sup>o</sup> a. l. 4. la qual, como quier que graciosa nin fermosa fuese nin su gesto e viso representase la forma de aquellos angeles que pintados vemos.	<i>S. nov.</i> 45. f. xci, r <sup>o</sup> b. l. 33. la qual como quier que ni fermosa ni graciosa fuese ni su gesto e viso representasse la forma de aquellos angeles que veemos pintados.
II, 101, 33-34. alla messa nella calonica quando tempo gli parve.	<i>E. cap.</i> 31. f. lxj. r <sup>o</sup> b l. 1. ala eglesia a misa quando a el parescio tiempo de fazer su collaçion.	<i>S. nov.</i> 51. f. xcvi, r <sup>o</sup> a. l. 5. A la yglesia a missa quando le a el parescio tiempo de fazer su collaçion.
II, 116, 17. Laudesi 116, 34. in Camerata.	<i>E. cap.</i> 57. f. clxvij. v <sup>o</sup> a. l. 10. la obra Id. b. l. 13-14. en su casa en su camara.	<i>S. nov.</i> 70. f. cxxxix, r <sup>o</sup> a. l. 27. la obra Id. b. l. 8. en su casa en su camara.

II. Coincidences in arrangement. a) The Italian introduction together with the first paragraph of the first *novella*, form in both *E* and *S* a number of divisions, called *capitulos*<sup>1</sup>, viz: ten in *E*, and twelve in *S*. The cutting into *capitulos* in both is made at the same points of the Italian text, except that the passage which in *E* forms *capitulo* 8, *Como las siete dueñas e tres moços eligieron a pampinea por rreyna* (cf. D. I, 49, 44, *Que ste parole*, — 51, 22, *Come voi vedete*) in *S* is divided into three *capitulos*:

*Capitulo como eligieron a pampinea por reyna e la orden que dio.*  
*Capi. de la fiesta que fizieron.*  
*Capitulo como desque ouieron dormido se fueron a vn jardin.*

1. Cf. *supra*, pp. 36, 45, 46.



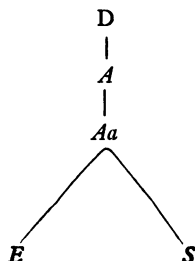
b) Certain stories, not always consecutive in D, are consecutive in *E* and *S*, in seven groups of two and two groups of three :

<i>E</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>D</i>
Novella : 11, 12, 13,	1, 2, 3,	Giorn. 1, 1, 2, 3;
14, 15,	7, 8,	4, 5, 6;
18, 19,	10, 11,	1, 10, 2, 1;
27, 28,	48, 49,	6, 3, 4;
30, 31,	50, 51,	6, 9, 10;
34, 35,	56, 57,	9, 9; 10, 1;
48, 49, 50,	65, 66, 67,	7, 7, 9; 8, 7;
54, 55,	68, 69,	10, 4, 5;
57, 58,	70, 71,	7, 1, 2.

The verbal coincidences between *E* and *S* which have been noted, as well in curious proper names, as in passages divergent from *D*, preclude the possibility that *E* and *S* were both translated directly and independently from the Italian.

It is equally impossible to suppose that either one of the Spanish forms proceeds from the other : *S* cannot derive from the incorrect and incomplete *E*; and *E* with its introductions which translate exactly their Italian originals and its unfinished *capitulo* L (*De un escolar* etc.), cannot have been copied from the MS model of *S*.

With due regard to the reservations indispensable in questions of this kind, the fact that in eleven cases the stories in *E* and *S* are in the same succession, will perhaps permit us to explain the agreement between *E* and *S* by supposing that *E* and *S* proceed indirectly from *A*, a previous Spanish form of *D*, through *Aa*, the only difference between *A* and *Aa* being that *A* followed the order of the stories in *D*, while *Aa* has changed this order. Both *A* and *Aa* contained, according to our hypothesis, translations of the short introductions to the stories. This derivation of *E* and *S* is represented in the following diagram :



*E* may be supposed to have copied a part of *Aa* in the order in which the stories occurred in *Aa*; *S*, dissatisfied with the arrangement in *Aa* may have attempted to dispose the stories in a succession which seemed to him better; in so doing he found himself obliged to change many of the introductions to make them correspond to the new order he adopted.

The relation established between *E* and *S*, it is interesting to ask whether there is any relation between *B* and *E*. *B* is evidently translated directly from an Italian original; *E*, as has been seen, is based immediately not upon an Italian manuscript, but upon an earlier Spanish form (*A* and *Aa*) of the Italian original. It is improbable that *B* and *E* (*B* directly and *E* indirectly) derive from one and the same Italian manuscript, for as *B* was written in Sanct Cugat de Valles in 1429, it is unlikely that its Italian original should have left the Aragonese town, if at all, in time to serve as the basis of the Castilian translation from which *E* was copied, since *E* dates from the middle of the fifteenth century.

Equally unlikely is it, that either the Spanish precursor of *E*, *E* itself, or both, should have been made in the Aragonese town of Sanct Cugat. We should, nevertheless, not be justified in asserting that the Italian original to which *E* goes back, was not textually identical with that from which *B* was translated.

In addition to the circumstantial improbability of a direct

connection between *B* and *E*, there are textual divergencies which seem to preclude the possibility of relation between the two <sup>1</sup>.

The great likeness, which in spite of these divergences exists between *B* and *E*, is to be expected, is easily explained by the facts that both manuscripts are versions of the same book, and that Catalan and Castilian are nearly related languages, similar both in vocabulary and syntax. An Italian phrase would therefore find similar expression in both languages.

The translator and copyist of the manuscript *B* are both anonymous, and little is known of its earlier history. The present owner purchased it from Mr. Victoriano Amer who had bought it from a chancellor of the French Consulate, in 1848 or thereabouts. It is Mr. Bonsoms' idea that the manuscript, written as it was probably was in the monastery of Sanct Cugat, formed a part of the library of that monastery, and remained there until the anti-religious movement in 1835.

1. *E.*  
 dizese pues señoras que muçiato  
 françes seyendo muy Rico mercadante  
 en ffrança z alcançando la honor z  
 orden de caualleria e auiendo de yr  
 en toscana con carrlos syn tierra her-  
 mano del Rey de françia que arrequesta  
 del papa bonifaçio pasaua en ytalia  
 sentiendo muçiato z acordandose que  
 su fazienda z mercaderias como alos  
 mercadores suelen fazer estauan derra-  
 madas en diuersas partes.

*B.*  
 Murciato frances molt rich e  
 molt grã mercader de Paris deuia  
 venir e deffet vench en Toscana ab  
 micer Carlos sensa terra frare del Rey  
 de franca demantat per papa bonifaci  
 lo quart. Murciato sentint los seus  
 fets en boluntats deslibera ans desa  
 partenca axi com les mes vegadas los  
 mercaders qui son ocupats de molts  
 fets ensa e enla acostumẽ de ffer e  
 desclarir e venir acome abtots sos  
 factos.

Cf. also *supra* pages 31-32, especially the endings of *Giorn.* 1,9; 2,2; 3,5.

#### IV. SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS IN SPANISH OF THE *DECAMERON*

The Seville edition of the *Decameron* had been four times reprinted when the injunctions of the Inquisition forbade any other publication of the book in its complete form <sup>1</sup>.

The first reprint of *S* was made in Toledo in 1524 (*T*)<sup>2</sup>, and

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1. « Bocatii Decades seu novellae centum » first appear upon the Index of Paul IV issued in January 1559; and the *Decameron* is also one of the books condemned by the first Spanish Index, that of Inquisitor General Valdés, promulgated in the same year.

Cf. *Die Indices Libr. Prohib. des sechszehnten Jahrht.* von Fr. Heinrich Reusch (Bib. Lit. Vereins Stuttg., 1886, vol. 176), p. 180: « Bocatii Decades seu novellae centum, quae hactenus cum intolerabilibus erroribus impressae sunt, et quae in posterum cum eisdem erroribus imprimentur. » P. 237: « Novelas de Joan Bocacio [que no fueren repurgadas]. »

The *Decameron* is one of the books mentioned in the Index of Quiroga, *Matriti, Alphons. Gomez.* MD. LXXXIII, fo 16 va. « Boccacii Decades sive decameron aut novellae centum, nisi fuerint ex purgatis et impressis ab anno 1572 »; and is likewise found upon those of 1612 (p. 66), 1631 (p. 703), and 1667 (p. 700, col. 1). In each case the book is forbidden unless expurgated and printed « ab anno 1572 ».

2. The whereabouts of an exemplar of this edition was apparently known neither to Nicolas Antonio (*Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Matriti, 1788, tom. II, p. 398, col. b), nor to Gallardo (*l. c.*, vol. II, col. 98, n° 1409), Brunet (*Manuel*, Paris, 1860, vol. I, col. 1007), Mendez-Hidalgo (*Tipografia*, Madrid, 1861, p. 349, n° 17), nor to Salvá (*Catálogo*, vol. II, p. 31, n° 1537), who says: « Nic. Antonio menciona una impresion de Valladolid (read Toledo) Juan de Villaquiran, 1524 », nor to Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Toledo*, Madrid, 1887, p. 50, n° 97.

From *La Marchesana di Monferrato, Novella di Mess. Giovanni Boccaccio, vol-tata in lingua spagnuola, con note e saggio bibliografico di alcune edizioni del Decameron*, Venezia, Della tipografia di Giambattista Merlo, 1856 (British Museum, 12470. g. 34) I learned that a copy of the book existed in 1856 in the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana at Florence.

contains the same stories as the first edition, in the same succession. There is no *novela* 36; *novela* 73 is the story of *Aneta*; *novella Giorn.* 9, 5 is wanting and *novela* C is followed by a story without a number: *Nouella, De Maestro Simon* etc. *T*'s only significant variations from *S* consist in an occasional slight textual emendation, which is followed in the subsequent editions<sup>1</sup>.

A copy of *T* exists in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (once Magliabecchiana); shelf-mark 1. B. 5. 55.

Gothic letter; ff. cxcvij + 4 s. f. Containing the title-page and the *Tabla*; folios vii, viii, ix, and x have been cut out. — 298 × 205 mm.; 2 col.; height of col. 225 mm.; width of printing on the page 154 mm.; 45 lines to a col. Signatures: ✠ ij, ✠ iij, a — aiiij (leaves 7 + 8 of the gathering of sig. a, and b, bj, bij are lacking owing to the removal of folios vii, viii, ix, x); biiij, biiiij, c — yiiiij. In the gathering of sig. q. qiiiij occurs twice and there is no qiiij. This gathering q, contains but six leaves; but there is no irregularity in the text to correspond to that of the signature.

Fol. xxviiij is numbered xci; fol. xlij is numbered xxxvij, and fol. cxcj is numbered xci. There are two leaves numbered xiiiij and no xiiij; two leaves lxiiij and no lxij.

Last words of fol. vi:

pero si en esto yo fuesse creyda por quanto en los juegos la vna parte conuiene

1. End of *novela* 67.

*S.* p. cxxxv v<sup>a</sup>. b.

E desque bien comido houieron :  
ambos en vn lecho fueron a yazer :  
donde despues que mucha lealtad z  
buena vida mucho tiempo viuieron.

*S.* *novela* LXXXVI lacks *moglie* —  
*fe presentare* (cf. D. II. 319, 12 — 320,  
27).

*T.* fol. cxxxvi r<sup>o</sup> a.

E desque bien ouieron comido am-  
bos en vn lecho se fueron a echar,  
donde despues con mucha lealtad z  
buena vida mucho tiempo biuieron.

*T.* bridges this gap by introducing  
after the word *moglie*: « llamada Dio-  
mora ala qual micer Cansaldo fizo  
combidar que viniessen » (fol. cxxxviii,  
r<sup>o</sup> a).

*que* aya enojo en perdiendo sin la otra auer muy *gran* plazer ⁊ avn sin *gran* alegria de los *que* mirauan. Ansi *que* la (cf. D. I. 51, 30).

First words of fol. xj :

en el acatamiento del señor piadoso, ca puesto *que* la su vida fuesse scelerada ⁊ mala en *aquel* estrecho punto de la hora postrimera..... (cf. D. I, 52, last line).

Thus, the four folios lacking contain almost the whole of the first *novela*.

Throughout the text capital E is sometimes used by mistake for capital C.

The title page is engraved on wood and is reproduced in red and black. A border encloses the title of the book and a vignette. Above the border at the top of the page is a triangular adornment which contains at the centre the letters Y. †. S; immediately below them, in the border is the monogram of the Virgin surmounted by the crown of Mary. At the upper end of the two side pieces of the border, to the right and left, are pictures of Saints; at the base of the same side pieces are monks at prayer.

The title is in large Gothic letters :

Las C. nouelas de micer Juan vocacio || Florentino Poeta eloquente. Enlas || quales se hallarã notables exem || plos y muy elegante estilo || Agora nueua-  
mête ym || pressas ⁊ corregi || das y emen || dadas || ✠ || de muchos vocablos  
y palabras viciosas.

Below the title, the vignette (dim. 90×60 mm.) shows four figures; those of a monk, a king, a queen and a poet.

On the margin of the page is an old shelf-mark, f. 99, no. 11; on the margin at the bottom of the page has been stamped the seal of the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana consisting of the words *Pub. — Florentinae. — Biblioth.* around the Florentine lily. Just above the last line of the title, on either side of the syllables *dadas* (cf. title, above) a name written upon the page has been struck out with a pen.

The verso of the title-page is blank. The *Tabla*, in 2 cols. occupies ff. ✠ ij and ✠ iij, and the *recto* of one without signature.

Comiença la tabla o registro || desta presente obra llamada las cient no' || uelas de Juan bocacio.

El prologo desta obra a fojas. j. —

The text begins fol. j :

Aqui comiença el libro de || las cien nouellas de micer Juan bocacio || de certaldo poeta eloquente. || Prologo.

Quando yo muy nobles señoras entre...

The text ends fol. cxcvij recto, right hand col. :

Aqui se acaban las cient nouellas de Mi||cer juan boccacio poeta eloquente. Fueron impressas en || la Imperial cibdad de Tolledo : por Juan de Villa || quiran impressor de libros. A costa de Cosme damian. Acabose a viij dias del mes de || Nouiembre : Año del nascimiento || de nuestro Saluador y Re||demptor Jesu christo de || mill ⁊ Quinien || tos ⁊ xx. iij || Años. || ✠ ||

Binding : the book is bound in cardboard covered with parchment; the fastenings are torn. On the back of the book upon a worm-eaten slip of paper may be read : vi. Boccac | .. ar. Hi... an | int. Ar. n. | 1524.

The second reprint of the Spanish translation of the *Decameron* was made in Valladolid in 1539 (*Va*). This edition has not, so far as I know, been mentioned by any bibliographer; a copy of it is to be found in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels with the shelf-mark V. 6884<sup>1</sup>.

Gothic letter, ff. clxxxix + 4 additional folios containing the title page and the *Tabla*. — 2 col. — 280 × 195 mm.; — height of col. of printing 213 mm. ; width, 68-69 mill.; 46 lines

1. I learned of the existence of this edition from Dr. F. De Haan.

to the col. Signatures Aij, Aiiij, which, preceded by the frontispiece, and followed by one leaf of the *Tabla*, without signature, form a signature of four leaves; a — ziiij all of eight leaves, r of six leaves.

The text is surrounded by a black marginal line.

Folio xciiij is numbered xxiiij.

The frontispiece is a wood engraving representing a company of people diverting themselves in a garden with music and conversation; in the back ground is a fortified town. Across the top of this square engraving runs a fantastic border: a cherub riding a goat, preceded and followed by other cherubs dancing and making music. Along the bottom of the page is a conventional border, and on each of the two sides are three small rectangular sections, containing each a man and a woman.

Below the central engraving is the title in large Gothic letters:

● Las Cien nouellas de micer || Juan Bocacio Florentino Poete (*sic*) eloquente. Enlas || quales se hallaran notables exêplos y muy || elegâte estilo. Agora nueuamen = || te Impressas | corregi = || das y enmen || dadas.

The date is divided, M. D. standing in the lower left hand corner of the page, and xxxix in the lower right hand corner.

The whole page is in black.

Tabla, in 2 cols:

Comiêça la tabla || o registro dela presente obra llamada las || cient nouellas de Juan bocacio. || ● Prologo Fo. j. ||

The text begins fol. j.

Aqui comienza <sup>1</sup> el || libro delas cien nouellas de Micer Juan Bocacio de ccrtaldo [*sic*] || poeta eloquente || ● Prologo ||  
Muy nobles señoras quâdo yo entre mi pensando.

1. The  $\zeta$  of *comienza* is upside down.



The text ends fol. clxxxix verso :

¶ Aqui se acaban las cient || nouellas de Micer Juan Boccacio poeta || eloquète. Fueron impressas en la muy || noble y leal villa de valladolid. || Acabose a veynte y quatro || dias del mes de Mar = || ço. Año de nuestro || Saluador y || redēptor || Jesu || Christo || de Mill τ || Qninientós (*sic*) y || treynta y || nueue || años || ✠ ||

The number and succession of the stories are the same as in *S* and *T*.

The transcripts I have of *T* and *Va* warrant me in supposing that their texts agree.

Bound in parchment.

The third Spanish edition of the *Decameron*, a reprint of the earlier ones, was made in Medina del Campo in 1543 (*M*)<sup>1</sup>. The British Museum, the K. K. Hofbibliothek at Vienna and the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid own each a copy of this volume. The one examined by me is in the Madrid library; it belonged formerly to Pascual de Gayangos, and has the shelf-mark R. 11313<sup>2</sup>.

Gothic letter, ff. clxxxv + the title-page and the *Tabla* which together occupy two additional folios. 2 cols. — 278 × 200 mm.; height of printed col. 210 mm.; width 71 mm.; 48 lines to a col. Signatures Aij, a — a<sup>v</sup>, b — y iiij, z — z<sup>v</sup>; all the signatures have eight leaves save Aij, which has but two, and z which has ten, the last one blank.

Fol. xiiij is marked xij, xcij = xcij, cxxij = cxx, clxxvj = clxx.

1. Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. I, col. 1007; Salvá, *Catálogo*, vol. II, p. 31, n<sup>o</sup> 1537; Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 50, n<sup>o</sup> 97.

2. The difficulty of obtaining a copy of this (or any other) edition is shown by a letter of Serafín Estébanez Calderón to Pascual de Gayangos, dated June 18, 1839. He writes: « Te reencargo de nuevo lo de las C novelas del Boccaccio, suponiendo que no estén corregidas. » (Cf. *El Solitario y su tiempo*, por A. Cánovas del Castillo, Madrid 1883, vol. II, p. 344.)

These errors have been corrected in ink by a former owner.

The frontispiece in red and black presents the same landscape as that on the title-page of *Va*, with the title of the book beneath in large Gothic letters. On either side of the landscape and title is a highly ornate pilaster; below is an elaborate border, and above a semi-architectural design which bears in capital letters the words : *Sit nomen doñi bene dictv̄*. The species of frieze bearing these words is surmounted by a decoration corresponding to the one at the bottom of the page.

The title reads :

Las cient no || Uellas de micer Juan Bocacio Florentino || poeta eloquente.  
Enlas quales se hallaran no- || tables exemplos y muy elegante (*sic*). Agora  
nueva || mente impressas : corregidas y enmendadas. || Año. M : D. xliiii. ||

The *Tabla* begins on the verso of the title-page :

☉ Comiença la tabla || ☉ Prologo ||

The text begins folio j :

☉ Aqui comiença el || libro delas cient nouellas de micer || Juan Bocacio  
de Certaldo || poeta eloquente || ☉ Prologo ||

Muy nobles señoras quando yo entre mi pensando.

The text ends fol. clxxxv verso :

☉ Aqui se acabã las cient nouellas || de Micer Juan Bocacio poeta eloquente.  
Fueron impressas || enla muy noble villa de Median (*sic*) del campo : por Pedro ||  
de Castro impressor : a costa de Juã de espinosa merca- || der de libros. A  
onze dias del mes de agosto || de M. y D. xl. iij. Años ||

In the *Tabla* there are two *novelas* numbered 77, and no *novela* 76; while in the body of the book there are two *novelas* numbered 78 and no *novela* 76.

The number and succession of the stories are the same as in *S*, *T* and *Va*. Modern binding.

The second Valladolid edition (*Vb*) was issued in 1550<sup>1</sup>. There

1. Cf. Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. I, col. 1007; Salvá, *Catdlogo*, vol. II, p. 31, nº 1537; Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. II, col. 98, nº 1408.

is one copy of it in the K. K. Hofbibliothek at Vienna, and a second in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. This edition corresponds folio for folio with *M*.

The volume owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale has the shelf-mark Y<sup>2</sup> 207 (old shelf-mark Y<sup>2</sup> 1005). Gothic letter; ff. clxxxv + 2 containing the title-page and *Tabla*. — 2 cols. enclosed by a black line, — 283 × 193 mm.; space occupied by printing and enclosed within the black line 242 × 157 mm. — 48 lines to a col.

Signatures a — a<sup>v</sup> (ten leaves) b — yiiiij (all of 8 leaves); z, (ten leaves, the last one blank).

Folio lxxiiiij is numbered lxxiiij; fol. cxxix = cxix; fol. clxiiij = clxij; fol. clxxvj = clxx; fol. clxxvij = clxxij; fol. clxxviiiij = clvxiiij (*sic*).

Through a mistake of the first binder this copy of the book contains *in duplo* fol. xcix and naturally also cij, which is the other half of the same sheet.

On leaves ix — xvi (sig. b.) the black line enclosing the text has been omitted.

The title page contains the same landscape as those of *Va* and *M*. The title in red and black, large Gothic letters is below the engraving and reads :

☉ Las cient nouellas de Micer || Juan Bocacio Florentino poeta eloquente. En las quales se || hallaran notables exemplos y muy elegâtes. Agora nue- || namente (*sic*) impressas : corregidas y emendadas. || Año M.D.L.

Engraving and title are enclosed by a border. In this border, at the top of the page is a shield bearing the arms of Castile and Leon, supported by the imperial eagle, surmounted by the imperial crown, and surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece. Beneath the shield is the device *Plus ultre*. In the border at the bottom of the page two cherubs support a shield which has been left blank.

The *Tabla* (2 cols.) begins on the verso of the title-page, and occupies also fol. aij recto and verso.

☉ Comiença la tabla || ☉ Prologo ||

The text begins fol. iij.

☉ Aqui comiença el || libro delas cient nouellas de Micer || Inan(*sic*) Boca-  
cio de Certaldo || poeta eloquente || ☉ Prologo ||  
Muy nobles señoras quando yo entre mi pensando

The text ends fol. clxxxv verso.

☉ Aqui se acaban las cient nouellas de || Micer Juan bocacio poeta eloquente.  
Fueron impressas en la || muy noble villa de Valladolid : en casa de Juan de  
vi- || laquiran impressor de libros : a costa de Juan || de espinosa. Acacabose(*sic*)  
a quinze dias dl || mes d Deziembre. Año d mil z qui || nientos z cinquennta(*sic*)  
años.

The book is bound in parchment. The back is of leather glued  
upon the parchment and bears the title

NOUVEL DE BOCACI
------------------------

This back belongs apparently to the eighteenth century.

## V. WORKS IN SPANISH INFLUENCED BY THE *DECAMERON*

The influence of the *Decameron* in Spain begins to be seen in the *Patrañuelo*, the first collection of short stories written in Spanish the object of which was not to instruct, but to divert.

*Novelas* had, it is true, been written in Spanish even before the *Decameron* was finished, but these, told in the *Conde Lucanor* (1236) of Don Juan Manuel, were composed with an avowedly didactic purpose. Between this book by the nephew of Alphonso the Wise and the *Patrañuelo* (1566 ?)<sup>1</sup>, whose sole intention was

1. Cf. *Novelistas anteriores d Cervantes*, B. A. E., vol. III. Madrid, 1846, p. 129. *El Patrañuelo. Primera parte de las Patrañas de Juan de Timoneda, en*

to provide "algun pasatiempo y recreo humano <sup>1</sup>", there is no record of any *novelas*, intended as such, in Spanish prose <sup>2</sup>. Three stories in the *Patrañuelo* are taken from the *Decameron*.

Even before the appearance of the *Patrañuelo*, there is evidence that *novelle* of the *Decameron* were familiarly known in Spain, for in 1553 Antonio de Torquemada tells the story of king Alphonso of Spain and the Italian knight, which, he says, was told him in his early childhood <sup>3</sup>.

From the time of Cervantes' *Novelas Ejemplares* (1613) and Tirso's *Cigarrales de Toledo* (1624) the art — or business — of *novela* writing was practised with much enthusiasm in Spain, and a study of Spanish seventeenth century literature shows that

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*las cuales se tratan admirables cuentos, graciosas marañas, y delicadas invenciones para saber contar el sabio discreto Relatador.* The oldest edition of this book owned by Salvá (nº 2008) is entitled *Primera Parte de las Patranyas...* and was printed in Barcelona in 1578 (1573 in Salvá is a misprint; see Heredia t. II, nº 2628). But as the title page indicates (*y agora en esta impresion emendado*) this was not the first edition. The *approbatio* of this edition is dated *Valencia, 22 de setiembre de 1566*, and Salvá says that Mayans in the prologue of the *Pastor de Filida* mentions an edition of Valencia 1566.

1. *Ut supra.*

2. One of the earliest collections of stories of which we hear is one called *Cuentos Varios* by Alonso de Villegas, which probably never appeared in print though Tomás Tamayo de Vargas says that he saw it in manuscript (Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 497, col. a). As Villegas, who devoted the latter years of his life to religious writing did his best to recall the copies of his profane *comedia*, *La Selvagia*, it is quite probable that he never printed his *Cuentos* (cf. B. A. E., t. III. *Discurso preliminar. Sobre la primitiva novela española*, por D. Buenaventura Carlos Aribau, p. xxxiii).

3. *Los colloquios || satiricos, con vn colloquio || pastoril, y gracioso al cabo || dellos hechos por Antonio || de Torquemada secretario || del Illustrissimo señor don || Antonio alfonso pimētel cō || de de Benabente Dirigidos || al muy Illustre y muy exce= || lente señor, Dō Alōso pimē= || tel primogenito y successor || en su casa y estado zc, || Ala buelta dsta hoja se hallará las materias que se tractā || en estos siete colloquios || Con priuilegio || 1553. || Esta tasado a. Cf. fol. iiii rº « vna nouela, que quando niño me acuerdo q̄ me contaron ». Cf. *Modern Language Notes* (Baltimore), March 1895, col. 138-139; 144-145.*

through this entire period the *Decameron* was called upon not only for material for short stories, but also for subjects for *romances* and plays, while its author is more than once referred to as a master of the story-teller's craft <sup>1</sup>.

How very well the *novelle* of the *Decameron* were known in Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, may be inferred from the *Loa* which precedes Ricardo de Turia's *La Burladora burlada* (1616) <sup>2</sup>. Here the author says that Boccaccio's stories were frequently used as subjects for this kind of dramatic prologue <sup>3</sup>.

I shall take up in the order in which they occur in the *Decameron* the *novelle* which have been retold in Spanish, and shall point out how far the Spanish version differs from the original story. For convenience in reference, I have in each case given an abstract of Boccaccio's story, numbering the episodes into which the *novella* naturally falls (1, 2, etc.). The episodes which in the Spanish reworking do not differ from their originals, I have thought it unnecessary to discuss; those that show variation from

1. El || Cvrial Del Parnaso || Por Matias De Los || Reyes natural de Madrid || ...Primera Parte. || Con Privilegio. || En Madrid, Por la viuda de Cosme || Delgado, Año 1624. || Fol. 68 v. : « Sus cortesés acciones obligan á mi lengua á celebrarla, para cuyo efecto... quisiera la Rethorica de Demosthenes, los conceptos de Petrarcha, y la dulçura de Bocacio. »

2. Cf. Barrera, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español*. Madrid, 1860, pp. 320-322.

3. B. A. E., vol. XLIII, *Dramáticos contemporáneos d Lope de Vega*, t. I, Madrid, 1857, p. 213.

La diversidad de asuntos  
Que en las loas han tomado  
Para pedirnos silencio  
Nuestros Terencios y Plautos,  
Ya contando alguna hazaña  
De César ó de Alejandro  
Ya refiriendo novelas  
Del Ferrarés ó el Bocacio...

the Italian form are referred to by the same numbers that designate the corresponding episodes in the original story.

I. SEPARATE STORIES FROM THE *DECAMERON* RETOLD  
IN SPANISH

D. II. 2.

The second *novella* of the second day is the first in order of the stories of the *Decameron* to be turned to account by a Spanish author<sup>1</sup>. Upon it are founded the first act and a part of the second of Lope's *comedia* entitled *El llegar en ocasion*. The play has all the essential features of the original story, with some unimportant changes in details.

Boccaccio's *novella* runs as follows :

(1) Rinaldo d'Asti, a Ferrarese merchant returning home one winter afternoon after a business trip to Bologna, falls in with three men seemingly of his own calling and continues his journey with them. Among other subjects, they talk of the prayers addressed by men to God, appropriate to different occasions. Rinaldo says that on his travels he never fails to pray to God and to Saint Julian to give him a good shelter for the night.

(2) Presently, in a solitary spot the other side of Castel Guglielmo, Rinaldo is robbed by his three companions of his money and his clothes. His servant on seeing his master attacked makes off at the top of his horse's speed.

(3) Rinaldo, under the circumstances, naturally cold tries to reach Castel Guglielmo, but is overtaken by night outside its walls. He takes refuge under

1. A modern Spanish translation of *Giorn.* I, 4, by Antonio R. García Vao, was printed in the *Biblioteca Reformista*, tomo III, pp. 87-93 (no date) with the title *Un cuento de Boccaccio. El Castigo Burlado*.

G. Morosi in his article *L'Odierno Dialetto Catalano di Alghero in Sardegna* (cf. *Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica in memoria di Napoleone Caix e Ugo Angelo Canello*, Firenze, 1886, p. 313) cites a translation of *Giorn.* I, 9, in the dialect of Alghero, published in Papanti, *I parlari italiani in Certaldo*, ecc. Livorno, 1875, pp. 436-437.

the projecting side of a house situated on the very edge of the town, and partly overhanging the walls. Under this projection a door opens into the house (4) which is owned by the Marquis of Azzo and occupied by a beautiful woman recently widowed, who that night is expecting the visit of the Marquis. A hot bath and a supper have been prepared for him, but at the last moment he has sent word that he cannot keep his appointment. (5) The bath-room, as it chances, is on the inner side of the wall against which Rinaldo crouches, and the lady, who, since the Marquis cannot profit by it, has decided to use the bath herself, hears the sound of his moaning without. She sends her maid to find out from whom it proceeds, and when she learns from her the story of Rinaldo's misfortunes, she bids her admit him. He is put into the still hot bath intended for the Marquis, and is fitted out in clothes once belonging to the lady's husband.

(6) Thus attired, Rinaldo is reported by the maid as so exceedingly presentable that his hostess sends for him to sup with her, and later makes him the recipient of all the favors which she had meant to bestow upon the Marquis.

(7) At day-break she lets Rinaldo out by the secret door that had admitted him, having given him a purse of money and a suit of clothing wretched enough in appearance to prevent suspicion of what had occurred. The young man then goes to the principal gate of Castel Guiglielmo, and enters the town as though he had come from a distance. The arrest of the robbers on the previous night and their confession of their guilt, enable Rinaldo to recover his horse and goods, whereupon with thanks to Saint Julian he continues his homeward journey.

Lope's *El llegar en ocasion* <sup>1</sup>.

*Act. I.*

(1) In Lope's *Comedia*, Rinaldo d'Asti, the merchant, is replaced by Otaúio, the son of a senator. The lady is called Laura, her maid, Fenisa, and Otaúio's servant Estacio. The object of Otaúio's journey is not mentioned and the question of prayers

1. El Fenix || De España || Lope de Vega Car || pio Familiar del santo Oficio || Sexta Parte de sus Comedias, corregida, y enmendada en esta 2ª impr. de Madrid || por los originales del propio Autor. || Año 1616 || En Madrid || Por Juan de la Cuesta || The *Comedia famosa del llegar en ocasion* begins fol. 210.

The legend of Saint Julian suggested to Lope de Vega the subject of his play *El animal profeta*. Cf.: *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, von Dr. Marcus Landaу, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Stuttgart, 1884, p. 21.



does not come up. There is no mention of Saint Julian. (2) When the robbery occurs Estacio has gone ahead to Castelguillermo to order a supper to which Otaúio has invited his three companions.

(3) There is neither explanation that Laura's house is on the extreme edge of the city wall, nor description of the place in which Otaúio seeks shelter.

(4) Laura has but just come to the house at Castelguillermo, which is her own and not the property of the Marquis. She has been a widow but a month, and though the Marquis had sought to obtain her love before her husband's death, she had never shown him the smallest favor. The night of Otaúio's misfortune had been appointed for the first visit of the Marquis to Laura. The arrangements for this had been made through Fenisa. But just as the nobleman had arrived at her door a messenger had overtaken him telling him of a conspiracy which had been formed against his life, and bidding him return to Ferrara.

(5) Laura is so chagrined at the failure on the part of the Marquis to keep his appointment that she is at odds with all men, and since Otaúio is one of them, though she hears him moaning outside her door, she will at first not offer him shelter. She suspects his story and thinks he must be some "pícaro" whose intentions are none of the best. Fenisa's intercession at last wins him admittance, though Laura begins by insisting that he shall not come into her presence.

The first Act closes with a hint that Otaúio is to spend the night in the house.

*Act. II.*

Early in the second act Laura confides to her maid at day-break that Otaúio had found his way to her room during the night, and that she had allowed him to remain; that she already loves him, and means to hide him in her house until she has assured herself of his rank in society. If that is what he asserts it to be, she will marry him.

From this point the play diverges entirely from the Italian story. It is taken up with Laura's devices to conceal Otauio from the Marquis and to avoid receiving the latter as her lover. The plot becomes very involved and confused, and the episodes are unnatural and improbable. The comedy ends with the marriage of Otauio and Laura.

Lope has added to the original actors in the story a number of new characters; Fabio and Tancredo, servants to the Marquis; Federico, who conspires against the lord of Ferrara to avenge his sister's betrayal; Diana, the sister of the Marquis, who marries Federico, and Tirso and Sirena, two servants belonging to Laura's estate.

The Marquis is introduced congratulating himself upon the death of the husband of Laura, who he now hopes will be more gracious to him.

Laura makes her first appearance on her way from Ferrara to her estate at Castella in peasant's costume. She is overtaken by the Marquis, who in one breath presents his condolences upon the death of her husband and his entreaties that his long devotion may now be rewarded.

"*El llegar en ocasion*" has slight literary merit and few interesting features of any kind. The characters are wholly lacking in individuality and charm, while their plainness of speech often descends to downright vulgarity. The action is involved, and the many long speeches are neither beautiful in language nor interesting in content.

The last half of the play is even worse in construction than that founded upon Boccaccio's *novella*. In it, among other absurdities, there is a scene in which Otauio pretends to go mad from the bite of a mad dog, and Laura, upon touching him, feigns to be seized with the same malady.

## D. II. 5.

This *novella* is retold entire by Matías de los Reyes in the *Curial del Parnaso*, where it forms a part of *Aviso IIII*. A version of it is also to be found in Christoval Suarez de Figueroa's *Passagero*, *Alivio VII*.

The Italian story briefly told is as follows :

(1) Andreuccio, a young Perugian, goes to Naples to buy horses. (2) The morning after his arrival, while on the market-place, he is recognized by an old woman, a former servant of his father. (3) Her companion, a young Sicilian girl, is greatly taken by the stranger's gold florins, (4) sends for him to come to her house, and succeeds in convincing him that she is his sister, giving weight to her claim by her intimate knowledge of his life and family, which she has obtained from the old servant. In the midst of great demonstration of affection, warning him that it is dangerous to walk abroad in Naples after dark, she persuades him to spend the night in her house.

(5) At a late hour he is shown to his room, where having first put all his money in the pockets of his clothes, he takes them off. Then, stepping into an adjacent closet he falls through the floor into a filthy place. (6) He suspects treachery and goes to the front of the house, where he pounds upon the door and makes many futile efforts to get in.

The maid, whom the noise at last brings to the window, accuses him of being intoxicated and advises him to go home and get sober. Much the same advice more threateningly given emanates from a fierce black-bearded head then thrust out of the window. Finally, in the midst of the tumult, the rudely awakened neighbors look out to see what is going on; they tell Andreuccio that he may as well go home, since it is vain for him to attempt to enter the house, and, on the whole, he is fortunate to have escaped with his life.

(7) The Perugian is obliged to turn away leaving his valuables behind him, and he now directs his steps towards the sea where he intends to wash himself. Frightened by the approach of two men carrying a lantern, he hides in a hut which, however, is shortly entered by the lantern bearers. They prove to be two thieves about to rob the tomb of the Archbishop, who that day has been buried with much treasure in the great church.

Andreuccio joins them. Their way to the church lies past a well into which the thieves let down their new accomplice so that he may wash himself. They intend to wait for him, but are frightened away by persons looking for water at the well, who, in their turn, flee terrified when they pull up a man instead of a bucket.

(8) Andreuccio rejoins his accomplices. On reaching the tomb he is compelled to enter it, but when he denies finding a certain ruby ring, — which he has taken from the Archbishop's hand and determined to keep for himself, — the robbers let down the cover of the vault upon him and run away.

(9) A second party comes to rob the tomb; the stone is lifted and one of the band lets himself down into it. Andreuccio immediately seizes him by the leg; the terrified man utters a shriek, hastily pulls himself out and flees, followed by his companions.

(10) Andreuccio now makes good his escape and leaves Naples in all haste with the ruby ring.

This story may be divided naturally into two parts :

(A) A visitor in a strange city becomes the prey of a designing woman, who entices him into her house and robs him.

(B) By a succession of hairbreadth escapes consequent upon the hero's first adventure, he in the end gains more than he has lost.

The story of a man's being inveigled into the house of a scheming woman and there losing his valuables, is told by Liñan y Verdugo, *Guia y Avisos de Forasteros, Novela quinta*; by Lorenzo Gracian, *El Criticon, Crisis undezima y duodezima*; and by Vicente Espinel, *El Escudero Marcos de Obregon, Relacion tercera*<sup>1</sup>. The account of such an adventure, likely enough at that time in a great city, would not necessarily be based upon Boccaccio's *novella*; we may therefore dismiss from consideration Liñan's tale which is meant exclusively to serve as a warning to the incautious.

The story in the *Criticon* though devoid of literary merit, has some features reminiscent of the *novella* of the *Decameron*, the most striking of which are :

(a) The assertion of kinship by which Falsirena inveigles Andreuio into her house.

1. *Guia* || *Y Avisos De* || *Forasteros, Adon* || *de se les enseña a huir* || *de los peligros que ay en* || *la vida de Corte.* || Por el licenciado Don || Antonio Liñan y Verdugo. || Año 1620 || En Madrid, Por la viuda de Alonso Martín. *Novela*

(b) The knowledge of his family relations with which the woman gives color to her story.

(c) The objections of the neighbors to the disturbance made at the door by Critilo (Andreuio's guardian) in his efforts to enter the house, and the information they give concerning the character and habits of Falsirena.

These points of similarity between Gracian's story and Boccaccio's are too striking to be overlooked; nevertheless, as other characteristic features of the Italian *novella* are absent in the Spanish tale, no intimate relation between the two is apparent.

Espinel's story has a greater likeness to the Italian *novella* :

(1) Boccaccio's Andreuccio here is replaced by Marcos de Obregon, a Spanish soldier; the action is at Venice. The hero arrives there in the course of his travels, and has with him a purse of ambergris-scented leather containing (2-3) one hundred gold ducats and a gold cross set with rubies and emeralds, all given him by one Aurelio, who has also sent a servant to accompany him. It is this servant who betrays him into the hands of the courtesan Camila.

(4) Camila herself seeks Marcos at his inn representing herself to be the sister-in-law of Aurelio, charged by him to entertain Marcos in her house during his whole stay in Venice. The Spaniard at first doubts her honesty, but is at length won by her cordiality and gentleness.

He goes home with her, where a pretended letter from Aurelio completes his deception, and he dines and sups with her. Warning him against the robbers in Venice, and advising him to trust no Venetian woman, she gives him a beautifully carved

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*quinta*, fol. 54.

*Tres partes de* || *El Criticon* ||... Su Autor Lorenço Gracian. || En Barcelona : Por Antonio Lacaualleria. Año 1664, p. 115, col 1; p. 116, col. 2.

*Relaciones* || *de la vida del* || *Escudero Marcos de* || *Obregon* ||... Por el maestro Vicen = || te Espinel. . . Año 1618 || Con privilegio || En Madrid, Por Juan de la Cuesta. || *Relacion tercera*, Descanso octavo, ff. 143-145.

box to which he transfers his papers, gold and jewels, then inducing her to take charge of it for him.

(5) The night passes without incident. In the morning Camila comes in to see Marcos, tells him that she is going to visit a great lady, and that the servants will supply his needs should she not return for dinner.

She does not return that day nor on the next morning. (6) Marcos suspects a fraud, the more, as she herself has warned him against the women of Venice. He calls a servant, asks if Madam Camila is up, and is told that no such person lives in the house; and further, that the house is not hers, but that she had simply rented a room in it for a great Spanish gentleman.

Marcos inquires at his inn about Camila, and is there informed that he can learn all about her from the servant who had accompanied him, and who had shown Camila where he lodged. Further, that Camila is no great lady, but a courtesan who lives by robbery and fraud.

Beyond this point there is less similarity between Espinel's story and Boccaccio's, for Marcos, by a clever stratagem recovers his valuables, (7) and leaves Venice the gainer by a beautiful carved box and by a day spent at Camila's expense.

Espinel's story has the following points of similarity with Boccaccio's :

- (a) The scene is laid in an Italian city.
- (b) A stranger is brought to his undoing through a servant in whom he has every reason to have confidence.
- (c) He is sought at his inn by the woman (or by her servant) who intends to exploit him.
- (d) She gives color to her story by evincing a knowledge of things which have happened to him in the past, and which could with difficulty be known by another person than the one she pretends to be.
- (e) She warns him against the danger of being robbed in the city.

(f) Marcos in the end comes out the gainer by his misfortunes, as does Andreuccio, though here, the hero's good fortune is due not to change, but to his own astuteness.

Reyes' *El curial del Parnaso, Aviso IIII* <sup>1</sup>.

“ *En que por un suceso notable se muestra el fruto del amor lasciuo, y el peligro que resulta de la comunicacion con mugeres* ”.

Matías de los Reyes has interwoven with Boccaccio's story another tale possibly also of Italian origin. The two stories forming the “ *Aviso* ” can easily be distinguished until the episode of the robbing of the tomb, where they become really one.

The story with which Reyes has combined the *novella* of the *Decameron* is the following :

Felisardo, a student at Bologna is the lover of Porcia. His intended marriage with her is broken off by her guardian who marries her to Otaúo, a rich old widower with two sons. Felisardo and Porcia both fall ill from grief; — he sends to Imola for his old friend Aurelio, and begins to improve immediately upon seeing him — but she grows steadily worse. Persuaded that she is going to die, and tormented by the idea that after her death Felisardo will love somebody else, Porcia sends for him to come to her at night.

In the midst of Felisardo's protestations that he shall not outlive his mistress, the appearance of her husband makes it necessary for him to take refuge in a chest which she has had made to conceal him, should they be surprised by Otaúo during Felisardo's visits. The interview with her lover has spent Porcia's scant strength, and having extracted from her husband a promise that he will bury the chest with her, which contains, she says, her dearest treasure, she dies.

1. *El Curial del Parnaso*. || Por Matias de los Reyes, natural de Madrid || . . . Primera Parte. || Con Privilegio || En Madrid. Por la viuda de Cosme || Delgado, Año 1624. || Fol. 32 — fol. 62.

Otauo's sons and all the friends and relatives of the family object to the fulfillment of the promise, but he remains true to his word, and Felisardo in the chest is lowered into the vault with Porcia. Her tomb is robbed on the following day by the two sons of Otauo and Aurelio (the Andreuccio of the *Decameron*) who has passed through the adventures of Boccaccio's hero up to the time when he joins the two thieves.

Felisardo, worn out by his long confinement in the chest, has fallen soundly asleep, and is wakened by the blows of Aurelio in trying to open the chest full of supposed treasure. He breaks out into loud lamentations from which Aurelio learns whom the chest contains. Released from the box Felisardo, dazed by sleep and by want of food, takes Aurelio with his lantern to be the soul of Porcia, and addresses him accordingly.

Brief explanations follow, in the midst of which the tomb is closed upon the two friends. It is soon reopened by the second party of thieves, — in this case the friars of the convent in the church of which Porcia has been buried, who, feeling that the burial of treasure with the dead smacks of paganism, intend to appropriate it to build a chapel. One of the party ventures in, Aurelio catches hold of his leg, whereupon the friar extricates himself with a shriek and flees followed by the rest of the band.

Aurelio and Felisardo make their escape with such treasure as the chest really contained.

Boccaccio's *novella* has been appropriated bodily and entire by Matias de los Reyes. Not a single episode of the original has been omitted in the Spanish version; certain passages are almost literal translations from the Italian <sup>1</sup>.

1. D. III, 123, 31-40.

Ella era ancora assai giovane, di persona grande e con bellissimo viso, vestita et ornata assai orrevolmente. Alla quale come Andreuccio fu presso,

*El Curial del Parnaso*, fo. 46.

... apenas pisaron los dos el zaguan suyo, quando ya por la escalera baxaua Dorotea, tan luzida en trage, quanto bella en rostro, porque en



Up to the point where Reyes unites his two stories, the accounts of the hero's adventures differ only in details, and in the addition by the Spanish author of a few unimportant features. Thus, in Reyes' *Curial*, (1) the two principal actors are called Aurelio and Dorotea; Aurelio's father is Federico. Aurelio goes to Bologna, not Naples, and to care for a sick friend, not to buy horses.

(2) He buys a jewel in the market place and his gold is then seen by Dorothea.

(3-4) Instead of fancying that Dorotea is in love with him, he hesitates to follow the servant to her house, which lies not in a "contrada chiamata Malpertugio", but in one of the principal streets.

Dorotea's account of her life differs slightly from that given by Madonna Fiordaliso: her mother had died while she was still a child, leaving her to the care of an uncle, and bequeathing her

essa incontrogli da tre gradi discese con le braccia aperte, et avvinghiatogli il collo, al quanto stette senza alcuna cosa dire, quasi da soperchia tenerezza impedita: poi lagrimando gli baciò la fronte, e con voce alquanto rotta disse: O Andreuccio mio, tu sii il benvenuto. Esso maravigliandosi di così tenere carezze tutto stupefatto rispose: Madonna, voi siate la ben trovata. Essa appresso, per la mano presolo, suso nella sua sala il menò.

ambos era por extremo curiosa. . . . Baxaua, digo, con los braços abiertos, risueño el rostro, y vertiendo alegría, significante procedia de la vista del galan, y llegando a el le enlazo el cuello estrechamente con indezible terneza, y estando de aquel modo un rato, como si de eternecido amor fuera suspendida, los ojos llenos de lagrimas, le diò la paz en la frente y con voz algo interrumpida, assí prosiguió: O Aurelio mio, tu seas muy bien venido. El qual marauillado de tan tiernas caricias, de oír su nombre y todo en una tan principal hermosa dama a quien el no conocia, admirado respondió con cortés sumision. Vos mi señora seais muy bien hallada y cogiendole ella por la mano, le conduxo la escalera arriba.

a reliquary which is found to contain an account of her birth and of her father's life. Her uncle had married her to an Italian captain who has been obliged to flee from Palermo because he has killed his adversary in a duel.

Boccaccio's heroine professes to get all her information from the old servant; is married by her mother to a Girgentian who leaves Palermo for political reasons. There is no mention of a reliquary in the original story.

In Reyes' version Aurelio spends the whole day with Dorotea — a much longer time than is implied by Boccaccio, — and she uses the long afternoon to show her "brother" her "bagatelas". Her gift to him of a purse is a feature introduced by Matías de los Reyes, which finds its analogue in the stories of Liñan y Verdugo, Gracian and Espinel. Aurelio in transferring his gold from his old to his new purse, enables Dorotea to find out just what her prey is worth.

(7) The incident at the well is somewhat elaborated by Matias de los Reyes. The well lies in the cemetery of the convent in the church of which Porcia is buried, and the officers of the *ronda* who come to drink, and pull up Aurelio, think that he must be some soul doing penance, especially as the well is in a churchyard, and as he exclaims: "Para que me sacauades tan presto que aun no estoy bien limpio?"

(8) Aurelio's accomplices do not close the tomb upon him because he refuses to give up a part of the treasure, but because they are frightened away by the approach of the second party of thieves.

At the end of Reyes' story, as may easily be seen, the divergence from the original is more pronounced than earlier. Here too, however, the incidents of the Italian story are preserved and in their original order.

The coincidence that both Espinel and Reyes speak of a purse of ambergris-scented leather, of a definite present given by the woman to her dupe, and of a whole day spent in her house,

permits the inference that Reyes knew the work of Espinel. This is not altogether unlikely as *Marcos de Obregón* was so very widely read<sup>1</sup>, and antedates the *Curial* by six years. Reyes, moreover, seems to have been wholly lacking in inventive ability, and to have possessed only a certain faculty of combination; — a statement borne out by his other adaptations of Boccaccio's stories.

His style is wordy and dull, and the long monologues (such as Felisardo's when he first finds himself shut in the chest), as they delay the course of the story, are to us very tiresome.

Reyes' prolixity and slowness are in marked contrast to Boccaccio's directness.

Figueroa's *El Passagero*, Madrid 1617, *Alivio VII*, fol. 321<sup>v</sup> 2.

Although the version in *El Passagero* is the earliest of the Spanish forms of the story that I have found, I have delayed the discussion of it until this point since it varies from the other accounts in replacing the experiences of the hero in the house of a Courtesan by an entirely different series of adventures. The following outline of Figueroa's version shows its divergences from Boccaccio's *novella*.

(1-4.) A Spanish soldier, named Juan, while returning from Italy to Spain, is put ashore at Toulon by the captain of the vessel in which he is sailing, under the pretext that the latter wishes him to make a purchase. The real motive of the captain's action is his jealousy of Juan's good understanding with one of the passengers, a Spanish woman who has put herself under her compatriot's protection. No sooner has Juan landed than the captain puts out to sea.

1. *Marcos de Obregon* was twice reprinted in Barcelona in 1618, once by Hieronimo Margarit, and once by Sebastian de Cormellas. Cf. Salvá, *l. c.*, II, p. 138, nº 1796.

2. El || Passagero. || Advertencias || vtilissimas ala || vida hvmana. || Por el Doctor Chris = || toual Suarez de Figueroa. ||... En Madrid, Por Luys Sanchez, Año 1617. *Alivio VII*, ff. 307-349.

(5.) On his way from the shore to the town Juan is robbed by some cavalry officers of everything save his underclothing. He arrives in the town towards nine o'clock, and the October night being chilly, shelters himself under cover of a house which seems to be that of a silver-smith. While he is standing here considering his misfortune, he is suddenly deluged by a great quantity of water, by no means of the clearest, thrown from a window above. His cries bring a youth from the house, who, taking him to be a robber, seizes him and leads him into the shop, where his forlorn appearance soon disarms suspicion. In a short time a powerful man comes in. Seeing the stranger, he asks who he is, and having been informed of the events that have occurred, proposes to Juan that they amuse themselves with some game. Juan replies that he knows none. The new-comer then suggests that they see which of the two is the best jumper, upon the condition that the more expert of the two shall eat the chicken then-roasting at the fire, while the other shall go supperless. Juan agrees, and they go to the front of the house to test their skill. The Frenchman, who is the first to try, jumps two steps; the Spaniard, who is half-starved, makes a great effort to win his supper, and clears four of the six steps that lead to the street. (6) He is no sooner well outside of the house than the Frenchman locks the door, and bidding his guest farewell with many insults, advises him to spend the night on the gallows.

From this point Figueroa's story bears a much closer resemblance to Boccaccio's.

(7-8) Juan wanders about until he happens upon a church surrounded by a cemetery. He huddles up in a corner, trying to keep warm, but he is soon disturbed by the sight of a lantern, which gradually draws nearer. It affords light to five men, who as soon as they perceive Juan's white figure, flee in terror. One, more courageous than the rest, stops their flight, and they approach, pistols drawn, and ask who he is. They order him to follow them and enter the church by a small door.

The body to be robbed is that of a very rich gentleman. Juan is given a candle and sent down into the vault. He has handed the robbers the most valuable of the gentleman's adornments, and has taken the ring for himself, as in Boccaccio, when his accomplices call to him to hurry, this confuses him; at the same moment the candle falls and goes out, and Juan very much terrified calls aloud to his companions to give him light. They do not hear his cries, but, thinking that they have all the treasure, let down the cover of the vault and make off.

(9.) Juan, hearing voices in the church, gropes his way up the ladder by which he had entered the tomb and shouts for help through the interstices of the flags above him. Six or seven persons approach and timidly lift the cover of the vault. Juan makes his escape before they have recovered from their astonishment and fright.

(10.) The following day he meets a Bishop riding in a luxurious carriage and accompanied by several outriders. He is interested in Juan, when his attention is called to him, makes him tell his story, and gives him fifty ducats for his ring.

That Figueroa knew the *Decameron* seems evident from a sentence in the *Passagero*, which refers to the first story of the fifth day : « Que mas ? los que eran locos de veras, cobrando amores, se boluieron prudentes en extremo como *Cimon* enamorado de *Ifigenia* » (*El Passagero*, f. 214 v<sup>o</sup> ll. 6-9.). This allusion to Boccaccio's book and the early date of the first edition of *El Passagero* (1617), together with the close agreement in many details between Figueroa's story and *Giorn.* II, 5, make it probable that the latter is the immediate source of this Spanish version.

#### D. II. 9.

This story appears in Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* as *Patraña* 15. The Italian *novella*, familiar as the source of *Cymbeline*, runs as follows :

(1) A number of Italian merchants gathered together in Paris fall to discussing the question of their wives' fidelity during their absence from home. Of all the company, Bernabò of Genoa alone asserts his belief that his wife, Ginevra, remains true to him, enumerating her good qualities, her beauty, her intelligence, — she knows how to read, write, and keep accounts, — and her chastity.

(2) Ambrogiuolo, one of those present, laughs at Bernabò's faith in his wife, and offers to prove that it is unfounded. Bernabò replies by wagering his head against a thousand florins upon his wife's honor. This wager Ambrogiuolo refuses, though he is willing to venture his money if Bernabò will risk five thousand florins instead of his head. Bernabò accedes to this proposal; the wager is recorded, and witnessed by the other merchants, and a limit of three months is set for the experiment.

(3) Ambrogiuolo now goes to Genoa where he finds that he cannot win his wager. He therefore bribes a poor woman who frequents the house to have him carried into Ginevra's room in a chest which she begs to leave a few days in the lady's care during her own pretended absence upon a journey.

Emerging at night from the chest Ambrogiuolo notes the furnishing and disposition of the room; then approaching the sleeping Ginevra he discovers that upon her left side she has a mole. He secures a purse, a belt, and other personal belongings of Bernabò's wife, and retires into the chest. At the end of three days he is carried out of the house.

(4) Ambrogiuolo now returns to Paris and claims to have won the wager, convincing the doubting Bernabò by his knowledge of the mark upon his wife's body.

(5) The husband immediately sets out for Genoa but halts outside the city whence he despatches a servant, ostensibly to bring Ginevra to him, but really with orders to kill her in some secluded spot on the way. Ginevra persuades the servant to spare her, and, giving her his doublet and hood, to carry her clothes to Bernabò as an evidence that his instructions have been carried out.

(6) The man's garments she arranges as well as possible to fit herself, and thus disguised, turns her steps towards the sea. At Alba she engages herself as servant to a Catalan gentleman and goes with him to Alexandria.

(7) The Sultan, who sees her, is greatly pleased with her, and asks her as a gift from the Catalan. Her ability leads her new master to give her posts of importance, among them the superintendence of the merchants at a public fair held in Acre. (8) Here she falls in with Ambrogiuolo who has with him her purse and belt. She learns how he has come to possess these articles, wins his friendship, and induces him to go to Alexandria with her.

(9) Through some Genoese merchants in Alexandria, she now contrives to

have Bernabò come to that city. Upon his arrival she has both men come before the Sultan, who, at her instigation, compels Ambrogiuolo to tell how he got the purse and belt, and Bernabò to state what has become of his wife. She then offers to produce Ginevra on condition that Ambrogiuolo shall be punished, and Bernabò pardoned. The Sultan having acquiesced to this condition, she falls on her knees before him and reveals her identity.

Ambrogiuolo is sentenced to be covered with honey and tied to a stake, a prey for bees and flies. Ginevra is to have all his wealth. The Sultan having given her the value of ten thousand doubloons, feasts her husband and herself, and fits out a ship to take them back to Genoa.

Timoneda's *Patraña 15*.

Since without Timoneda's appreciative foresight, Lope de Rueda's works would have been lost to posterity, we do not need the statement at the end of *Patraña 15*: « De esta novela hay hecha comedia que se llama Eufemia », to be certain that Timoneda knew Lope de Rueda's *Comedia llamada Eufemia*.

Timoneda's statement, however, must not be construed to mean that his story as such had been used as the basis of a play, but only that the same material had served as foundation for a *Comedia*; for Rueda's *Eufemia* was in existence in 1544 (cf. *Tesoro del Teatro español desde su origen (año de 1356) hasta nuestros días; arreglado... por Don Eugenio de Ochoa. Tomo primero... Paris... Baudry... 1838, p. 79, col. 1*), twelve years before the approbation for the *Patrañuelo* was granted.

The *Eufemia* has in common with *Patraña 15* only the stratagem by means of which the calumniator is able to give an appearance of truth to his statements; and it seems improbable that Lope de Rueda made use of Boccaccio's story.

Timoneda's version has the following variations from the *novella* of the *Decameron*.

1) Bernabò of Genoa becomes Casiodoro, a native of Ferrara; Finea, — Boccaccio's Ginevra, — lives with her father Herodiano in the city of Candía, and upon her marriage to Casiodoro, a compact is made between Herodiano and Casiodoro that the latter shall support his father-in-law until his death.

2) The name of the calumniator is Falacio, and it is he, not the husband, who first suggests the wager, offering to pay two hundred ducats if Finea does not yield to his wishes. The wager takes place in Ferrara; no limit of time is set for the experiment.

3) Falacio upon arriving at the city of Candía finds Finea so modest and retiring that he cannot even find an opportunity to see her, much less to speak to her. He therefore bribes an old woman, Crispina, who comes and goes about the house, to tell him the disposition of her room and some intimate detail about herself. In addition to the desired information the servant also gives him some hairs which she has cut from a mole on her mistress' shoulder.

4) With these Falacio goes back to Ferrara, and convinces Casiodoro of his wife's unfaithfulness.

5) Casiodoro returns to Candía; he cannot make up his mind to kill Finea, but he devises another means to be rid of her. Under pretext of taking her to see relatives of his, they set sail for Ferrara. Two hundred miles out at sea they disembark upon an island to rest, and while Finea is asleep under a tree, her husband sails off.

Returning to Ferrara he tells her father that she has died of a fever.

6) Upon waking and finding herself deserted, Finea cuts over her garments as well as may be to the likeness of a man's, and after three days is taken on board by a passing vessel which she has been able to signal, and which is bound for the island of Cyprus. Just outside the port a great storm overtakes them, and to save their lives the passengers must throw overboard many of their valuables. When they disembark, disputes arise as to each one's share in the loss. The case is brought before the king who is unable to settle it. Finea (now called Pedro) offers her help, and arranges matters to every one's content. The king is greatly pleased with her, and takes her into his service.



7) The king of Candia on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem stops at the island of Cyprus. Pedro so manages matters as to be given to this king and returns with his new master to Candia. This merit wins him positions of importance and he becomes at last « regente de caballeria » (8, 9 & 10). Herodiano and Casiodoro have gone to law because Casiodoro has refused his father-in-law the promised stipend, and also because Casiodoro cannot give a satisfactory account of Finea, whom Herodiano does not believe do be dead.

The law-suit comes before Pedro for trial. Casiodoro, put to torture, confesses the truth about his wife. Falacio is then taken prisoner, and by the same means is compelled to exonerate Finea. The old servant is also imprisoned and obliged to confess her share in the crime. Falacio is sentenced to restore the hundred ducats and to go into perpetual exile ; Casiodoro is released.

Now Finea arranges a splendid feast to which she invite sthe king, her father and Casiodoro. After the meal she withdraws and soon reappearing in woman's clothes, she declares herself to be Finea. She tells the king the story of her adventures, and begs him to give her husband the same high office that she has held. This the king grants upon condition that Casiodoro shall hear no case except in the presence of his wife.

Timoneda's *patraña*, in spite of its manifest deviations from the ninth *novella* of the second day, nevertheless has striking points of likeness to Boccaccio's story. Thus :

1) In both cases the principal men, — the husband and the slanderer, — are merchants.

2) The assistance of a person free to come and go in the house, in both instances enables the slanderer to obtain evidence which seems to the husband absolute proof of the wife's unfaithfulness.

3) The wife comes into the service of two different masters; the second is in both cases a ruler (in Timoneda both masters are rulers).

4) In both stories the woman owes her success with her masters and the ultimate rehabilitation of her reputation to her more than ordinary talents and education. Both Boccaccio and Timoneda tell us that she knows how to keep accounts; *Boc.*: « la commendò meglio sapere... leggere, e scrivere, e fare una ragione che se un mercatante fosse. » *Tim.*: « ... Pedro, porque sabia muy bien escribir y contar... »

These important instances of agreement between the *patraña* and the *novella* of the *Decameron*, point to Timoneda's acquaintance with Boccaccio's story. A farther argument for Timoneda's indebtedness to the *novella* lies in the fact that Timoneda took from Boccaccio's book the material for two other *patrañas* (n<sup>os</sup> 2 and 22)<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover, there is to my knowledge no other form of this story either in Spanish or in any other language, sufficiently like Timoneda's to be its source, and known certainly to antedate *Patraña 15*.

A version of the same tale was printed by Lami in 1756 in the *Novelle letterarie* from a manuscript assigned by him to the fourteenth century<sup>2</sup>. This account differs from Boccaccio's only in unimportant details and as it was not printed in Italy until the middle of the eighteenth century, the probabilities are that it was not known in Spain early enough to have furnished Timoneda with a story for his *Patrañuelo*. It must nevertheless be noted that both Timoneda's and Lami's versions tell of a terrible wind which overtakes the vessel upon which the heroine is embarked<sup>3</sup>. In the *patraña* this storm arises as the ship nears its

1. B. A. E., vol. III, p. 155; also *supra*, note 40.

2. *Novelle letterarie*, vol. XVI, 1755, col 193. Cf. also Landau, *l. c.*, p. 142.

3. *Nov. lett.*, vol. XVII, 1756, col. 770. Cf. *Patraña 15*. B. A. E., vol. III, p. 156, col. 1, top.

« Ora navigando per più di, e rubando, com'egli era usato; come la nave, la cual iba para el reino de

port in the island of Cyprus, according to the account of the *Novelle letterarie*, the wind drives the vessel into a Saracen port, in the territory of the Grand Khan. All of the ship's company are taken prisoners by the Saracens, but their lives are spared as this accident has befallen them upon the principal feast-day of their captors.

The mention of a storm in both *Patraña 15* and in the version of the *Novelle letterarie* would furnish the only reason for the supposition that Timoneda may have been indebted to the account printed by Lami, as well as, or instead of Boccaccio's *novella*.

Lope de Rueda's *Comedia llamada Eufemia*<sup>1</sup>.

As already observed, this play has nothing in common with Timoneda's *patraña* save the stratagem by means of which the slanderer succeeds in giving an appearance of truth to his story.

Eufemia is the sister and not the wife of Leonardo, the man wrongly believing himself to be offended.

The calumniator is in this case an old servant of Valiano, a nobleman to whom Leonardo is secretary and to whom he has promised his sister Eufemia for his wife. He is angry with Leonardo because the latter has superseded him in the affections of Valiano, and himself professes to have been favored by Eufemia.

Eufemia restores her reputation by accusing her detractor face to face of having enjoyed her hospitality and of having taken this

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piacque a Dio, se levò una fortuna di vento, di che la detta nave apporto in Saracinia. »

Chipre, cargada de muy ricas mercaderias y siendo cerca del puerto, al punto que quisieron entrar en el, tomólos una tan gran fortuna que les fué forzado de lanzar mucha ropa en la mar para poder salvarse. »

1. Cf. *Obras de Lope de Rueda*, tomo II, pp. (7)-88 (in the *Colección de Libros españoles raros ó curiosos*, tomo XXIV). Madrid, 1896.

opportunity to steal a jewel from beneath her pillow. The man denies that he has ever seen her, thus proving his accusation to be utterly false <sup>1</sup>.

D. III, 3.

From this *novella* Lope has taken the principal idea of his *comedia* entitled *La discreta enamorada*.

The original story is in brief this :

1) A lady of Florence who has been married by her parents to a man much beneath her in station, decides to take a lover to her liking and sets her heart upon a certain handsome man of good birth, whom she has seen in the street but does not know.

2) Her first step towards accomplishing her end is to go to confession to a priest who is an intimate friend of this man. Before leaving the church she complains to her confessor that his friend troubles her by haunting her house and following her in the street, and she begs him to reprove his parishioner for this improper behavior.

The priest fulfils her request, rebukes the good man for his misconduct and does not even give him an opportunity to offer any denial, for, he says, the lady herself is his informant. The man is quick to see the intention of the lady's complaint, and taking the hint begins to frequent her neighborhood.

3) The lady now makes the priest a second visit to tell him that his parishioner has not only not given up his discourteous practices, but has sent her letters and gifts ; and she produces a belt and a purse which she professes to have received from her admirer, begging the priest to return them to him.

A second time the pastor rebukes his wayward disciple, and hands him the belt and the purse to show him that denial of his guilt will be vain.

4) A journey of the lady's husband moves her to a third visit to the priest. This time she complains that her would-be lover, having in some way heard of her husband's absence, has the night before tried to climb into her room by the window, and she begs him to tell his friend that unless his attentions cease, she will make them known to her brother.

The good priest transmits the lady's third message to his parishioner, who takes the hint, and before another night has passed, carries out her clear though indirect instructions.

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1. Landau, *l. c.*, p. 143.

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Lope's *La discreta enamorada* <sup>1</sup>.

Act. I.

1) Lope's « discreta enamorada » is a young girl, Fenisa, whose foolish and nagging mother Belisa has promised her in marriage to Bernardo, an old captain with whose son, Lucindo, Fenisa is in love. The girl feigns to accept Bernardo as her husband with cheerful acquiescence, but she has secretly determined to marry no one but Lucindo.

2) In order to see him Fenisa complains to his father that the young man sends her letters and haunts the street beneath her window; and she asks her ancient suitor to reprove his son for this conduct. Lucindo, on being reprimanded by his father, is not astute enough to interpret aright this invention of Fenisa, but his servant, Hernando, makes its meaning clear to him, and they go to talk to the girl at her window. She boldly confesses her love for Lucindo and having explained her tactics to him, gives him before he leaves a ribbon as a love-token.

Fenisa now asks Bernardo to bring Lucindo to see her, in order that she may become acquainted with her future step-son. During the visit he manages to hand her unobserved, a note in which he tells her that his father has planned to send him to Portugal.

3) Lucindo's departure must be prevented, so Fenisa tells Bernardo her second story, namely that the night before she has heard a noise at the window and that on investigating its cause, she discovered a note from Lucindo upon the window-ledge. The old captain reproves his son more sharply than before, and Lucindo that night finds a note from Fenisa in the place indicated. In it she tells him that by asking her mother's hand in marriage he can escape being sent to Portugal. Lucindo does not

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1. B. A. E. vol. XXIV (*Comedias escogidas de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, tomo I), p. 155.

fail to act upon this advice, and Belisa is enchanted to promise to become his wife.

4) Now, to bring matters to a climax, Fenisa tells Bernardo that she has been mistaken in supposing that Lucindo had left the note upon the window-sill; that, she says, was done by a friend of this, who on the preceding evening at ten o'clock had come through the garden and rapped at the door of her room. Her locking the door had alone prevented disaster. The requests him to ask Lucindo to stand guard that night at the door of the house; she in the meantime will receive Bernardo whom she begs to come with beard youthfully trimmed, and in fine attire, but well muffled. The astute girl has already told her mother that Lucindo wishes to visit his betrothed that night.

Lucindo correctly interprets the message sent him by Fenisa through his father, and comes to the house at ten o'clock. Bernardo is already within and the result of the young woman's machinations is that in the darkness, her mother mistakes the old captain for his son, while she herself becomes the wife of Lucindo.

The action of this play moves very lightly and rapidly, and the interest is well sustained throughout by the quick succession of amusing incidents and the liveliness of the dialogue. Particularly humorous are the conversations between Belisa and Fenisa, in which the daughter's tart rejoinders and sly thrusts at her mother's hypocrisy and airs of virtue show her attitude to be widely different from that state of filial submission which the conventional Spanish *comedia* would lead us to expect.

While the play is distinctly a comedy of intrigue, and the characters are therefore but slightly developed, they are nevertheless well differentiated, and for the most part very diverting. Belisa is a vain and shallow creature who severely reproves the slightest inclination to frivolity on her daughter's part, but who imagines herself to be the object of much admiration and is

quite willing to take bold measures in order to secure a second husband.

Fenisa's clever manipulation of her mother, the captain, and Lucindo, whom she manages as though they were mere puppets, shows her quick wit and daring spirit, qualities characteristic of her Italian prototype.

The opening scene of the *comedia*, in which mother and daughter are returning from mass, and Fenisa attracts the attention of Lucindo by letting fall her handkerchief, is particularly life-like and amusing : though indeed we may take the whole play with its nightly promenades in the Prado, its disguise, now of a man in woman's clothing, now the reverse, and its lovers' conversations between grated window and street below, to be a faithful picture of Madrid life in Lope's day.

Lope has added various subordinate characters whose main use is to increase the confusion of the tangle, from which Fenisa at last comes forth in triumphant possession of the man she loves.

#### D. IV, 1.

This *novella* is retold by the author of the *Palmerin de Inglaterra*<sup>1</sup> (Parte I, cap. 90), and by Luis de Guevara (*Intercadencias de la Calentura de Amor*).

Boccaccio's story runs thus :

1) Ghismonda, the beautiful daughter of Tancredi, Prince of Salerno, becomes a widow and returns to her father's Court. His great love for her, which had long deferred her marriage, will not allow him to find her a second husband, and Ghismonda therefore 2) determines to take a lover. Her choice falls upon Guiscardo, a youth of humble parentage but of many high qualities.

3) She makes her love known to him by giving him a letter enclosed in a hollow reed. 4) In the side of the mountain beside the palace, there is a grotto, long forgotten, and overgrown with briars ; this grotto communicates

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1. Cf. following note.

with Ghismonda's room by a secret stair, and into it she bids Guiscardo let himself by a rope, so that they may meet in secret. On the following day, therefore, Guiscardo, overjoyed at his good-fortune, and clothed in a suit of leather to protect himself against the thorns with which the opening to the cave is choked, ventures into the grotto and is received by the princess.

5) Their meetings continue for some time, but one day they are discovered by Tancredi, who has gone to his daughter's room to visit with her. Finding that she is in the garden with her attendants, he sits down to wait for her, and falls asleep at the foot of the bed, where concealed by the curtains he is not seen by his daughter when she comes in. Without making his presence known, he waits until the lovers have left the room, and then, unobserved, lets himself down from the window and retires to his own apartments.

6) On the following evening as Guiscardo is emerging from the grotto Tancredi has him seized, and thrown into prison while he decides what the punishment of his daughter's lover is to be; 7) then he goes to his daughter and reproaches her with her conduct. Instead of weeping and showing contrition, Ghismonda defends her actions in a long argument and tells her father that she will not outlive her lover should his punishment be death. Tancredi who does not believe that his daughter has the fortitude to carry out such a proposition 8) has Guiscardo's heart torn out and sent to her in a golden tankard. Ghismonda on receiving the tankard, kisses her lover's heart, and uttering a pitiful lament, covers it with her tears. Then filling the goblet with a poisonous water which she had prepared, she holds Guiscardo's heart to her own and composes herself to die.

9) Her ladies-in-waiting, seeing that her death is near, send for Tancredi, who upon finding that she has fulfilled her threat begins to mourn aloud. But Ghismonda bids him reserve his tears for a sorrow not of his own making, and breathes her last. Tancredi repenting of his cruelty, has the lovers buried in a single tomb.

*Palmerin de Inglaterra* <sup>1</sup> (Parte I, cap. 90).

The story in the *Palmerin* is as follows :

1) King Sarmadante of Thrace has a beautiful daughter Brandisia who is courted by two knights, Brandimar and Artibel. 2) The princess chooses Artibel for her lover and devises a means of seeing him in a tower. Brandimar, Brandisia's other suitor who spends his nights hovering near her apartments, sees

1. *Libro del muy esforçado || Cauallero Palmerin de Inglaterra hijo del rey*



Artibel let himself down from the tower by a rope. The two, once friends, draw swords; the noise of the fray awakens the king who hurries to the spot, finds Brandimar half dead, and throws Artibel into prison.

Having learned from Brandimar the story of his daughter's love, the king waits until her child is born, when he has Artibel killed, his heart torn out and sent to her in a golden cup. Brandisia makes sure that the heart is her lover's and then addresses it with bitter lamentation, covering it the while with tears.

Determined to prove by her actions her love and grief, she takes the heart from the tankard, which she sends full of her tears to her father; then dressing herself in royal robes, she presses her lover's heart to her own and throws herself from the tower.

While the differences between this tale and Boccaccio's are obvious, the points of resemblance between the two are not less so : *a*) the means for seeing Artibel are devised by the princess;

*b*) We are not told what they are, but it is evident that her lover must use difficult and unaccustomed means to reach her.

*c*) In each case the lover is first imprisoned by the offended father, and his heart then torn out and sent to the princess.

Ghismonda's long lament over Guiscardo's heart is summarized in the following words : « tomo la copa en las manos, y

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*dō* || duardos : y de sus grandes proezas : y de Floriano del || desierto su hermano : con algunas del principe Florendos || hijo de primaleon Impresso Año M. D. xlvij. ||

Colophon of vol. I (fol. cxxxj r.) ¶ Fue impressa la presen || te hystoria dl muy esforçado cauallero || Palmerin de inglaterra y de Flo || riano dl desierto su hño en la Im || perial cibdad de Toledo : en || casa de Fernando de santa || catherina defũto q̄ dios || aya. Acabose a xxiiij. || dias dl mes d julio. || Año del nascimiento de nuestro saluador Jesu christo de. M. d. xlvij. años. ||

For a more complete description of this edition cf. *Palmerin of England* . . . By William Edward Purser. London, 1904, pp. 264-265, 386-388.

diziendo al corazon de Artibel palabras de mucho dolor, y diziendo muchas lastimas, la hinchio de lagrimas. »

Landau finds no other source for this tale than a possible mention in an old chronicle, or verbal tradition <sup>1</sup>. He does not speak of any variant of it except the story published by Lami (*Novelle letterarie*, XVI, S. 190, 241) and this is evidently merely a shortened form of Boccaccio's *novella*. As I do not know of any other version of the story prior to 1547, — the date of the Spanish *Palmerin*, — I conclude that the author knew the story either as Boccaccio wrote it or as it appears in some translation.

The version of the *Palmerin* seems like Boccaccio's *novella* told from memory. The death of the princess as it occurs here recalls the ninth *novella* of the same day. It would seem not improbable that the writer was familiar with both stories and had in his mind a more or less confused remembrance of both, when he wrote the ninetieth chapter of the *Palmerin*.

#### Guevara's *La desdichada firmeza* <sup>2</sup>.

Guevara's version of this *novella* is simply Boccaccio's story badly rendered into Spanish. The only noteworthy changes or additions made are the following :

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For the indication that the *Palmerin* contains a version of Boccaccio's *Giorn. 4, 1*, cf. John Dunlop's *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, Aus dem Englischen übertragen und vielfach vermehrt... von Felix Liebrecht. Berlin, 1851, p. 489, note 307.

In the *Palmerin* of 1547, the version of *Giorn 4, 1*, is found in *Capit. xc. de vna auen || tura que vna donzella de tracia truxo a || la corte.* || fol. cviii. rº, col. 2. The story proper begins fol. cviii vº. col. 2, l. 27.

1. Landau, *l. c.*, pp. 218-219.

2. *Intercadencias || de la || Calentura || de Amor.* || *Sucessos ya tragicos, y || lamentables, ya dichosos, y bien logrados.* || Por el licenciado Lvis de || Gueuara, natural de Segura. || Dedicadas || a Don Jayme de || Cordellas || En Barcelona : en la Imprenta de Joseph Llopis. Año 1685 || Acosta de Juan Roca Librero ; vendense á su casa en la Tapineria, pp. 144-170, *Suceso Sexto, Tragico. La desdichada firmeza.*

*Revue hispanique.* 1905.

1) Tancredi is called Federico, Ghismonda Segismunda, and Guiscardo Gerardo; the scene is in Oristan on the island of Sardinia.

2) Gerardo has been one of the gentlemen at the court of Segismunda's husband Arturo of Yvisa and she has noted his good qualities even before Arturo's death; on her return voyage to her father's court, her extravagant praise of Gerardo's singing, has shown him that the princess is not indifferent to him. Arrived in Oristan, Segismunda uses her influence to have Gerardo given positions of importance at the Court.

5) Federico when he comes to visit his daughter finds her asleep; he withdraws to a distant part of the room, and likewise falls asleep. He awakens in time to see Segismunda open the door to Gerardo.

6) Here Guevara adds a grotesque incident: the prince orders a lion which has been kept at the court, to be thrown into the grotto in the hope that it will devour Gerardo, who will thus be put out of the way with entire secrecy. His command is carried out, but fails of its purpose as Gerardo kills the lion. On the failure of this device, Federico has his daughter's lover arrested, giving out to the servants who are to seize him, that Gerardo, with others, has conspired to take his life.

8) Segismunda when her father has left her, bursts into tears and addresses a long apostrophe to her absent lover; then she attempts to solace herself by looking at his portrait.

9) Federico dies of grief two weeks after his daughter's death.

Guevara has succeeded in robbing Boccaccio's story of every particle of life; he leaves nothing to the imagination; what Boccaccio suggests, he explains and describes at length: thus, Boccaccio tells us that Ghismonda's ladies in waiting try to comfort her: Guevara must tell the means they took to do so, and introduce a wretched song of twenty-eight lines sung by one of them.

A brief sentence in the original furnishes material for an elaborate speech in the Spanish:

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*Boccaccio* (D. I, 276, 41): « Al quale Guiscardo niuna altra cosa disse se non questo : Amor può troppo più che nè voi nè io possiamo ».

*Guevara* : « Señor, mayor es el poder de amor, que el de vuestra Alteza, no pude dexar de obedecer á su tirano dominio, i siendo la causa tan alta, pues vos la sabeis, aunque mirara lo que aora me amenaza, i casi miro de cortarme la cabeça, no dexara de obedecer, passando por mayores dificultades que las que en el leon se me ofrecieron, al qual di la muerte aunque entrando en la cueva me vi preso de sus uñas. »

The story in this way becomes almost interminable and very wearisome.

The style is stilted and affected, full of the figures of speech and round-about turns of expression so in favor in Spain during the seventeenth century.

The *romance* of the *conde Claros*<sup>1</sup>, particularly in the last forty-six verses, recalls this *novella* of the *Decameron* :

Count Claros loves the Infanta and is discovered kneeling before her by the king, her father, who, incensed at his presumption, commands him to be thrown into chains, and on the following day has him beheaded. His heart is then torn out by the command of the angry father, and sent to the Infanta between two golden plates.

The princess on seeing the heart begins to lament bitterly; she rejects her mother's attempts to console her, and dies forthwith of a broken heart.

The king has the two lovers buried in one tomb.

#### D. IV, 8.

The story of the *Amantes de Teruel* deals with the same subject as the eighth *novella* of the fourth day. The question of its possible derivation from the Italian tale has been frequently

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1. A. Durán. *Romancero general*, tomo I (B.A.E, vol. X), nº 363.

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brought up, and will be here discussed at the end of the abstracts of the two stories.

Boccaccio's *novella* is as follows :

1) Leonardo Sighieri, a wealthy Florentine merchant, dies shortly after the birth of his son Girolamo, who is carefully brought up by his mother. To her great displeasure, at the age of fourteen he falls in love with Salvestra, a tailor's daughter. 2) His mother decides to send the boy to Paris, in the hope that absence will cure his passion, but he returns after two years as much in love as ever. Salvestra, however, is married, and has apparently forgotten him. 3) Determined to see her and speak with her, Girolamo conceals himself one night in her room, and when her husband is asleep comes from his hiding place, reminds her of her former love for him, and entreats her to have compassion upon him. But Salvestra replies that she is happily married and that all her love is now for her husband. 4) Girolamo, upon this, begs her as a last favor that she will allow him to lie down beside her to get warm. His request Salvestra grants, but the unhappy boy has hardly taken his place at her side, when, unable longer to endure his grief, he expires.

5) Salvestra soon finds that he is dead, and awakening her husband tells him what has occurred, as a story that she has heard of another woman. She asks him what he, the husband, would do in a similar case, and upon his reply that no blame should attach to the woman, who certainly had not been at fault, tells him that the dead man is at that moment lying beside her.

6) The husband arises without delay, shoulders Girolamo's body and carries it to the door of his mother's house, where he lays it down. 7) On the following morning it is taken into the church, and Salvestra with her head closely veiled slips in among the mourners to hear what may be said of the singular occurrence. When she looks upon Girolamo's dead face, her old love for him revives, and throwing herself with a loud cry upon his body, she breathes her last.

8) Salvestra's husband, when the news of her death reaches him, discloses the tragic events that have occurred on the previous night in his house, and he and his lovers are buried in one tomb.

Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, who is evidently familiar with the account given by Gabarda<sup>1</sup>, sets down the following as the earliest form of the story of the *Amantes*.

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1. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *D. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch*, in

At the beginning of the thirteenth century there lived in Teruel in the street of the Ricos hombres, Diego de Marsilla and Isabel de Segura, who had loved each other almost from childhood. The father of Isabel objected to the marriage of the two young people because of Diego's lack of fortune, and because he wished his daughter to marry a rich man Azagra, count of Albarracín.

Marsilla, having obtained from Segura the assurance that Isabel should not be compelled to marry within five years, went to seek his fortune. He fought against the Moors and was in the battle of the Navas de Tolosa (1212). At the end of five years he returned with riches and honors to Teruel to claim Isabel's hand, and arrived in the town at the very hour when she, yielding to the importunities of her parents, was being married in the church of San Pedro to Azagra.

Marsilla hastened to the church, where the two lovers, upon seeing one another were so affected that both fell to the ground unconscious, and soon expired.

The pity at first felt by the by-standers soon turned to indignation; two opposing parties were formed and serious trouble was averted only by the intercession of the clergy, who succeeded in calming the agitation. By a special dispensation the lovers were buried together in the Chapel of San Cosme and San Damian, adjacent to the cemetery of the church of San Pedro. This honor had before this time been granted to no one, and was a special concession to the distinguished position held in

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*Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, tomo I, Madrid, 1881, pp. 405-428. The article is dated 16 Enero 1882 [reprinted in *Obras de D. Juan E. Hartzenbusch I, Poesías* (Madrid, 1887), pp. 7-58]. Cf. also : *Historia de los Amantes de Teruel, con los documentos justificativos y observaciones críticas del autor, tal como se publicó en 1842, y continuada con la narración de los demás hechos que han pasado hasta el día de hoy*. Por D. Esteban Gabarda, Abogado. Segunda edición. Teruel, 1864, pp. 12-37. The date of this edition given on the cover, is 1865.

Teruel by the three families of the Marsillas, Seguras and Azagras. These events took place in the year 1217 while D. Domingo Cellados was judge of Teruel.

Such, says Fernández-Guerra, is the tradition handed down from father to son in the family of the Marsillas <sup>1</sup>.

After giving this account of the love of Diego and Isabel, he adds that the written versions of the story all agree in certain divergences from this oral tradition. In the written forms we are always told that Diego returns after the wedding ceremony has taken place, and the same night finds his way into Isabel's room. When the husband is asleep, Marsilla steps from his hiding place and asks his old love for one kiss. This she denies him, whereupon the unfortunate Marsilla forthwith dies of grief.

Isabel awakens her husband, and after she has told him what has occurred, they together carry Marsilla's body out of the house.

On the following day, Isabel in mourning garb joins the other women present at Diego's funeral. The service has hardly begun, when unable longer to control her grief, she throws herself upon Marsilla's body to give him in death the kiss she had denied him while alive, and there expires.

In 1555, more than three hundred years after the supposed occurrence of the events narrated above, when the church of San Pedro was undergoing some repairs, two bodies, one of a man, and one of a woman, are said to have been found in one of its chapels. Popular opinion immediately jumped to the conclusion that these were the bodies of the faithful lovers of Teruel, who became the subject of various literary works <sup>2</sup>.

1. Fernández-Guerra, *l. c.*, p. 418.

2. Pedro de Alventosa, *Historia lastimosa y sentida de los tiernos amantes Marsilla y Segura, ahora nuevamente copilada y dada á luz*, without date or place. Cf. Fernández-Guerra, *l. c.*, p. 419 and Salvá, n<sup>o</sup> 1082, who says « hacia 1555 ».

2) *El Pelegrino curioso y Grandezas de España por Bartholomé de Villalba y*

The basis in fact of the tradition of the *Amantes* and the authenticity of the bones claimed to be theirs was never questioned until Blasco de Lanuza expressed his doubts as to the historical accuracy of the legend in the following words<sup>1</sup> :

*Estaña Donzel vecino de Xérica. Publicalo la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles.* Madrid, 1886-1889. 2 vols (Ed. by Don Pascual de Gayangos, vol. II, pp. 113-272 (written ca. 1577, cf. Fernández-Guerra, *l. c.*, p. 419).

3) *Los Amantes*, || *Tragedia*, compuesta por Micer An||dres Rey de Artieda || Dirigida al Illustre Señor Don Thomas de || Vilanova, Mayorazgo y legitimo succes || sor en las Baronias de Bicornp y Quesa, &c. || En Valencia, en casa de la Viuda de Pedro de Huete, 1581. (Cf. Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. I, 489, nº 1373.) Cf. also Heredia, *Catalogue*, etc. nº 2342.

4) *Florando de Castilla Lauro de Caballeros*, compuesto en octava rima por el licenciado Hieronimo de Güerta natural de Escalona A Doña Maria de Porres y de Zuñiga mujer de Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Señor de Fresno, Canto IX. B. A. E., vol. XXXVI, p. 256. Salvá mentions an edition of 1588 (*l. c.*, vol. II, p. 72, nº 1618).

5) *Los Amantes || de Teruel*, || *Epopeya tragica : || con la Restauracion de España por la parte de Sobrarbe || y conquista del Reyno de Valencia ||* por Ivan Yagve de Salas || Secretario de la ciudad de Teruel || Dirigida al Concejo y ayuntamiento de dicha ciudad. || (Printer's mark.) Con privilegio real. || En Valencia, por Pedro Patricio Mey 1616. ||

*Privilegio real* : Madrid a 26 de Enero de 1615 años (ff. sig. § 2, § 3).

*Aprobacion* of Fray Alonso Remon, Madrid a 22 de Enero, 1615 (vº of § 3). Boston Public Library.) Ticknor Collection.

6) The poem mentioned by Fernández-Guerra (*l. c.*, p. 419, note) is found in the Bibliothéque Nationale at Paris, *Catalogue des mss. esp.*, nº 598; *Classement* of 1860, nº 314; it occupies from folio 123-138 and begins : « Afloxa nympha ya la cuerda dura. » The language of the poem would seem to place it at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. For other literary works based on the legend, cf. note 1, p. 104.

1. *Historias || ecclesiasticas, || y seculares de Aragon || en que se continuan lo annales de || Çurita, desde el Año 1556. hasta el de 1618.* || Tomo segvndo. || ... Por el dotor Vincencio Blasco de Lanvza || ... Año 1622. || ... En Çaragoça, por Ivan de Lanaia y Qvartanet || ... A costa de Iuan de Bonilla Mercader de libros. || *Libro III, Cap. XIII*, fol. 285, col. 2.

The first edition of the second volume of Lanuza's history, was printed in 1619, also by Ivan de Lanaia y Qvartanet (cf. Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. II, p. 446, nº 2841).



« No quiero tratar aqui de lo que se dice del suceso tan sonado y tan cantado de Marcilla, y Segura: que aunque no lo tengo por imposible creo certissimamente ser fabuloso; pues no ay escritor de autoridad y classico, ni aquellos Anales tantas veces citados con ser particulares de las cosas de Teruel, ni otro Auctor alguno que dello haga mencion: si bien algunos Poetas le han tomado por sujeto de sus versos, los quales creo que si hallaran en Archiuos alguna cosa desto, ó si en las ruynas de la Parroquial de San Pedro de Teruel (queriendole reedificar) se huuiera hallado sepultura de marmol con inscripcion de estos Amantes, no lo callaran. »

Lanuza's comment was the starting point of a discussion renewed at intervals until 1903, the date of an article by Emilio Cotarelo in the *Revista de Archivos*<sup>1</sup>, which will no

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1. Cotarelo's article appeared after the completion of my MS. As the conclusions reached by him are the same as my own, I have changed the present discussion only by the addition of the titles of certain literary works based upon the story of the *Amantes* hitherto unknown to me. These are:

1) A burlesque, *Los Amantes de Teruel* in *Primera parte de los Donayres de Tersicore, compuesta por Don Vicente Svarez de Deza y Avila. En Madrid, por Melchor Sanchez, año de 1663.*

2) A *mojiganga*, in *Arcadia de entremeses, escritos por los Ingenios más clásicos de España. Primera parte, Pamplona, Juan Micon, 1691.*

3) A Monologue by D. Francisco Mariano Nifo, acted about 1789, and printed at first without date and with the initials only of the author: *La casta amante de Teruel. Doña Isabel de Segura. Escena patética.* Por D. F. M. N. Madrid. Reprinted in the same way in Valencia by Estevan in 1818. It was printed in 1805 in the *Coleccion de los mejores papeles poéticos y composiciones dramáticas de D. Francisco Mariano Nipho...* En Madrid: Por Cano, Año de MDCCCV, 2 vols. (t. II).

4) *Los amantes de Teruel. Escena trágico-lirica.* Por Don Luciano Francisco Comella. Madrid, Libreria de Quiroga. Twice reprinted in Madrid; once, without date or place, once by Ramon Ruiz, 1794.

5) «Se cita asimismo» says Cotarelo, a *Relación burlesca intitulada Los Amantes de Teruel, para cantar y representar, compuesta por un aficionado.* Without date or place.

doubt be considered as final. The various articles concerned with the question of the authenticity of the tradition are the following :

1780. *Memoria genealógica justificada de la familia que trae el sobrenombre Garcés de Marcilla*, presented to the Spanish king by José Tomás Garcés.

1806. *Noticias históricas sobre los Amantes de Teruel* by Isidro de Antillón (printed in Quintana's periodical *Variedades de ciencias*, and reprinted in the same year in pamphlet form).

1842. *Historia de los Amantes de Teruel* by Estéban Gabarda.

6) A parody of Hartzzenbusch's play, *Los novios de Teruel*. Drama lírico-burlesco en dos actos y en verso : letra de Eusebio Blasco y música del Maestro Arrieta. Madrid, 1867. Other forms with a musical setting are Sr<sup>ta</sup> D<sup>a</sup> Rosario Zapates' *Gli Amanti di Teruel*, drama lírico, música del Maestro Avelino de Aguirre, representado en el teatro principal de Valencia el 16 de Diciembre de 1865. Madrid 1865. and *Los Amantes de Teruel*. Libreto de la ópera en cuatro actos y un prólogo, letra y música de Don Tomás Bretón, Madrid, 1889. Bretón's opera was the occasion of two critical pamphlets : *Los Amantes de Teruel. Estudio crítico del drama lírico de este nombre de D. Tomás Bretón por Don Antonio Peña y Goñi*, Madrid, 1889, and *Los Amantes de Teruel. Contestación d un folleto por Enrique Sanchis*. Bretón's libretto was translated into German by Friedrich Adler : *Die Liebenden von Teruel*. 1891.

Don Luis Carmena y Millán owned an unpublished autograph copy of a libretto entitled *Los Amantes de Teruel* by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri dated 1862.

7) Lyrical poems : *Los Amantes de Teruel. Poema-leyenda, original de D. Joaquín Guimbao y Simón*, Teruel 1880; *Los Amantes de Teruel. Relación histórica en verso*. Teruel 1891; anonymous; two *Relaciones*, same title, without date but belonging to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Printed in Cordova by Luis Ramos y Coria, numbers 31 and 121.

8) Novels. Two later editions of Villaroya's *novela*, one 1852, the other without date published in the *Biblioteca Moderna*. *Los Amantes de Teruel. Novela histórica por D. Manuel Fernández y González* : printed three times, the last in Barcelona 1894. *Los Amantes de Teruel, novela histórica popular, por D. Luis Ubiols*, Barcelona, 1894.

Cotarelo also mentions a critical work upon the *Amantes* unknown to me : *Breve resumen de la historia de los Amantes de Teruel, por D. Federico Andrés, ilustrado con dibujos de Salvador Gisbert*. Teruel, 1895.

1855. An article on the *Amantes* by Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe in *La España* (issue of April 8<sup>th</sup>).

1861. *Los Amantes de Teruel* by Renato de Castel-Leon, a so-called historical novel with a prologue by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch.

1881. Reprint of Fernández-Guerra's article as prologue to Hartzenbusch's *Los Amantes de Teruel*, published in the *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, tomo I.

1889. Second reprint of the same in the first volume of Hartzenbusch's *Obras Completas* (*Col. de Escrit. castell.* 1889).

1903. *Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de los Amantes de Teruel* by Emilio Cotarelo, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, número 5, Mayo 1903, pp. 347-377.

Besides Lanuza's chronicle, I have been able to see only the articles of Antillón, Gabarda, Fernández-Guerra (whose essay is based upon the first edition of Gabarda), and Cotarelo.

Among the arguments adduced by Gabarda to show that the story of the *Amantes* has an historical foundation, those worthy of consideration are founded upon :

1) The discovery in 1555 in the chapel of San Pedro at Teruel, of two mummified bodies purported to be those of Marsilla and Isabel.

2) The copy of a copy made in the beginning of the seventeenth century by Juan Yagüe, secretary of the *Ayuntamiento* of Teruel, of a « papel de letra muy antigua » headed *Historia de los amores de Diego Juan Martínez de Marcilla é Isabel de Segura, Año 1217: fué juez de Teruel Domingo Cellada*. Gabarda states that this copy existed at the time he wrote his book (1842) in the archives of the parochial church of San Pedro de Teruel.

3) A document called an *escritura pública* found in 1822, dated April 18, 1619, and containing a declaration by Juan Yagüe that he has had in his hands a paper (the above-mentioned « papel de letra muy antigua ») telling the story of the *Amantes* whose bodies were found in 1555 in a chapel of the church of San

Pedro. (The *escritura pública* reproduces the contents of the «papel de letra muy antigua.»)

4) The statements concerning the disinterment of the bodies to be found in the «antiquísimo *Alcoran ó Libro Verde* (no date) which contains annals of Teruel from the time of its foundation<sup>1</sup>.

While Gabarda's arguments appear at first glance of not a little worth, nearer study shows them to possess small value. Antillón in his *Noticias históricas* (1806) surmises that the «papel de letra muy antigua» was nothing but a fabrication invented by Yagüe as a reply to the doubts expressed by Lanuza.

Yagüe at all events, as Antillón points out, did not know of this «papel de letra muy antigua» — the copy of which, made by himself, is a favorite argument with the upholders of the authenticity of the tradition — when he wrote his poem *Los Amantes de Teruel*, for in the *Prólogo al lector* he makes no mention of any such paper. Nor indeed, does he positively assert that the story has an historical foundation. His words are these: «Si bien no dexare de dezir en este [prólogo] que la historia de los Amantes de Teruel es verdaderissima, y recibida por tal en todo el mundo, no solo por el vulgo, pero por personas muy doctas, y inteligentes, y que saben la fuerça y autoridad que tiene una tradicion continuadano solo en humanas pero en diuinas letras: esta (*sic*) se ha platicado por todo genero y estado de gentes, desde su suceso tragico tan antiguo, que no ay memoria de hombres en contrario, y continuado de padres a hijos y nietos, sin oluido de vna generacion en otra, y tenidose por cierto, manifestado y notorio con boz comun, y fama publica, sin auerse jamas entendido cosa en contrario. Y sino quieres confessar que este Poema tenga fundamento en historia verdadera, confiessa alomenos (si eres docto) la doctrina de Aristoteles en su Poetica que permite poderse fundar en fabula, como sea verisimil<sup>2</sup>.»

1. Gabarda, *l. c.*, pp. 39-45 ; 53, 54, 70 ; 70-74 ; *et passim*.

2. Yagüe de Salas, *l. c.*, ff §§§ 3 vo — §§§ 5 ro.

The paper «de letra muy antigua» was not found until 1619, four hundred years after the story of Marsilla and Isabel is supposed to have been enacted, and more than fifty after the first exhumation of the bodies. Moreover, the original document has disappeared, and in 1842 there existed in the Archives of Teruel only a copy of the copy which Juan Yagüe is said to have made of the original. This copy Gabarda himself admits to be in modern writing, and to contain many incidents almost identical with those of Juan Yagüe's poem on the *Amantes*, printed in 1616. These incidents he considers to have been introduced by the modern copyist<sup>1</sup>, but we cannot fail to be struck by the

1. Gabarda, *l. c.*, pp. 109-111 and 29, note.

Antillon thinks that the *Historia de los amores de Diego Juan Martinez de Marcilla é Isabel de Segura. Año 1217* (Gabarda's «papel de letra muy antigua») is a fraudulent document for which Yagüe de Salas himself is responsible. Cf. *Noticias históricas sobre los Amantes de Teruel*, por Don Isidro de Antillon, Madrid, 1806, pp. 44-47: «La relacion de los Amantes es manifiestamente ficcion de mano moderna, su misma lectura lo indica... y el continuo uso de retruuecanos y equivoquillos manifiestan su nacimiento en el siglo xvii. Y por otra parte, si antes de esta época hubiese existido en el Archivo del Ayuntamiento, ¿cómo podría no tener noticia de él Yagüe, Secretario del mismo, y exactísimo reconocedor de sus papeles, según lo hace ver en sus obras? Sin embargo, al poner los bases del poema de los amantes, á falta de documentos que narrasen su aventura, los estableció meramente sobre la tradición.

Pasando más adelante, parece que aun puede descubrirse el falsario, y que no será temeridad atribuir la impostura al mismo Yagüe. . . Poco después de la publicación de su poema el historiador Blasco de Lanuza la proclamó por fabulosa, y pidió documentos para convencerse. Sin duda Yagüe quiso responder fabricando con el disimulo de la fe debida á un Notario público, la dicha relacion. Cotejada ésta con el poema, no solo aparece conforme á las amplificaciones y circunstancias con que en él se pinta la tragedia de Marcilla y Segura, á reserva de algunas cortisimas diferencias, quizá introducidas de proposito para ocultar la mano: no solo contiene casi esclusivamente versos, ó enteros, ó más ó menos descompuestos de la *epopeya* de Yagüe, sino que aun encierra aquellas alusiones que siendo manifiestamente fingidas, solo pertenecen á las libertades de la poesía. Tal es lo que dice Segura á Marcilla: *Te vi celebrando*

suggestive succession of the respective dates of Yagüe's poem, Lanuza's Chronicle, and the first reference to the « papel de letra muy antigua » : Yagüe's *Amantes de Teruel* was printed in 1616, Lanuza's chronicle in 1618, while there is no mention of the « papel » etc. until 1619, the date of the second exhumation of the bodies.

The *escritura pública*, found in 1822 and dated April 18, 1619 has as a witness to the historical foundation of the tradition, the same weakness as the « papel de letra muy antigua », that is, its recent date. Gabarda calls attention to the fact that the *escritura pública* does not contain the elaborate dialogue between the lovers at Isabel's bed-side, nor the story told by Isabel to her husband. The absence in the *escritura pública* of these two incidents found in the « papel de letra muy antigua », Gabarda offers as a proof of their introduction into the latter paper by the modern copyist <sup>1</sup>; but a study of the *escritura pública* as reproduced by Gabarda, shows that at these points the manuscript was defective <sup>2</sup>.

The statements of the *Libro verde* cannot be looked upon as serious arguments for the authenticity of the tradition, since this book is more recent than either of the two documents already mentioned <sup>3</sup>.

The most important argument adduced by Gabarda is the discovery in 1555 of the two bodies in the chapel of San Pedro. It cannot be doubted that at that date, or between that time and 1619, two bodies were exhumed in Teruel, but there is no proof that these bodies were those of Marsilla and Isabel. They were

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*con otra dama tus bodas*, expresion que solo puede entender quien se acuerde que, segun se supone en el poema (cantos XII y XIII) zelosa Segura quiso indagar la situacion de Marcilla ausente, y una Mora de Xea se lo hizo ver entregado á otra muger ».

1. Cf. Gabarda, *l. c.*, pp. 110-111.

2. *Id.*, pp. 58 and 59.

3. *Id.*, p. 72, top.

not disinterred till 1555, three hundred years and more after the supposed tragic death of the lovers, and no mention is made of any inscription or paper found at the time of the exhumation which would prove the identity of the two bodies. When the mummies were examined in 1619, within the coffin containing the man's body was found, it is said, a parchment with these words: « Este es Diego Juan Martinez de Marsilla, que murio de enamorado <sup>1</sup>. » Had this parchment been found in the coffin of the supposed Diego when it was first discovered, so interesting a fact could hardly have escaped mention at the time, or soon after, either in some official record or in some one of the many literary compositions based upon the story of the lovers. Neither Gabarda nor Fernández-Guerra notes its mention in any such record or composition until 1619, nor is it to be found in what Gabarda claims to be a literal reproduction of the *escritura pública*. He cites the words of the parchment in a long quoted passage whose text otherwise agrees with that of the *escritura pública*, but he does not say where the original of his quotation is to be found <sup>2</sup>.

Fernández-Guerra simply states the discovery of the parchment as a fact, without giving his source of information or advancing any proofs of its existence <sup>3</sup>.

The tardy and indefinite references to the words claimed to have been found in the coffin of the supposed Marsilla, and the recent discovery of the supposed copy of the «papel de letra muy antigua» warrant the suspicion that the originals, if they existed at all, came into being not earlier than 1555, and perhaps not until the second exhumation of the bodies.

Fernández-Guerra speaks in praise of Gabarda's book and seeks

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1. Cf. Gabarda, *loc. cit.*, p. 72.

2. *Id.*, comparing pp. 40 y fueron hallados — 44 é Isabel de Segura, with pp. 62 y fueron hallados (end of page) — 67 y Isabel de Sigura.

3. Fernández-Guerra, *l. c.*, p. 420.

to strengthen his predecessor's position by insisting upon the uninterrupted persistence of the tradition for six centuries, and referring to certain Limousin songs and «tal cual nota que podríamos llamar doméstica», which have preserved the story in Teruel from the earliest times. He also makes mention of a «relación en forma de cuento» which he says, dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century «y que ha llegado testimoniada á nosotros<sup>1</sup>». But his statement concerning the long life of the tradition is supported by no proof; nor does he produce songs, notes or fifteenth century account.

The ending of the story given by Guerra as the authentic one, — that is the simultaneous death of the two lovers upon seeing one another in the church, and the disturbance that ensued, — is given only in one of the versions of the story that I have seen, viz., in the *Memoria genealógica* of 1780. This *Memoria*, says Antillón, is entirely valueless as testimony, since its statements are wholly arbitrary<sup>2</sup>. It should also be noted that this version is by no means one of the oldest.

Arguments against the historical basis of the legend are the silence of the chronicles, the weak arguments for the affirmative, and the existence of Boccaccio's story of Girolamo and Salvestra (*Giorn*, 4. 8.)

Gabarda, in the first edition of his book, makes no reference whatever to Boccaccio. Fernández-Guerra, while admitting the earlier existence of Boccaccio's tale, does not make note of the great conformity between details believed by him to be later additions to the tradition, and certain particulars of Boccaccio's story such as the return of the lover after the ceremony has been performed, his entrance into his beloved's room, his conversation with her and his prayer for the concession of a last

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1. *Id.*, p. 419.

2. Antillón, *l. c.*, p. 43.



favor; the placing of the lover's body at the door of his parents' house; the death of the wife upon her old lover's body.

Fernández-Guerra himself points out that all the written versions of the story agree in their divergences from the oral tradition<sup>1</sup>, but he accords only a passing mention to this striking fact, and does not hint that such agreement in the written versions in their divergences from the oral tradition, would indicate that the written versions spring from one common source. Furthermore, that the agreement which exists between these divergence and particulars of Boccaccio's *novella*, would point to the Italian story as the source of the Spanish legend.

The great similarity between the Italian and Spanish stories Fernández-Guerra dismisses with a word, by saying that the Aragonese merchants who so frequently passed between Italy and Spain, doubtless carried the story to Italy, where Boccaccio heard it and fitted it to an Italian setting<sup>2</sup>. It is more probable that the reverse was the case, and that the same Aragonese merchants brought the story from Italy to Spain. The very earliest written account of the history of the *Amantes*, does not, even according to Fernández-Guerra, antedate the fifteenth century; — the *Decameron* was finished in 1353, and in 1555 when the two mummified bodies were found in Teruel, it had already run through five editions in Spanish. Its *novelle* were well-known and popular in Spain, as is attested by the many versions of them to be found in Spanish in various branches of literature.

The conclusions to which a consideration of the facts exposed would lead, are these:

The story of the *Amantes de Teruel* in its earliest written forms is derived from Boccaccio's *novella*.

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1. Fernández-Guerra, *l. c.*, p. 418.

2. *Id.*, p. 419.

Some vague rumor of a tragic love-story in the families of the Marsillas and Seguras may perhaps have been current in Teruel; the discovery of two bodies, — those of a man and a woman, — in a church in Teruel<sup>1</sup>, was the means of popularizing as a legend this story, which then took on a definite form, borrowing its details from Boccaccio's well-known tale of Girolamo and Salvestra.

The various literary forms that the legend of the *Amantes* has taken on in Spain (those seen by me are numbers 1, 2, 3 in Salvá's abstract, Valencia, Cabrerizo, 1838, and 4, note 66 pages 52-55) and an anonymous historical novel, *Los Amantes de Teruel*, show no essential deviations from the tradition as given by Yagüe de Salas (cf. *Appendix D*), or Gabarda, and no evidence of later reference to Boccaccio's *novella*. Certain modifications necessary for stage presentation have been made in the dramatic versions; the length of Marsilla's absence varies, being given in *Florando*, the *Pelegrino curioso* and in Rey de Artieda's tragedy as seven years, by Tirso and Montalban as three years and three days, and in the Cabrerizo's novel as five years.

Again, Salas supposes Marsilla to have been in the battle of the Navas de Tolosa, and in this point is followed by the authors of the anonymous novel and of the *Memoria*; Rey de Artieda, Tirso and Montalban place the action in the time of Charles V, the hero taking part in the capture of Tunis. Güerta sends Marsilla to combat against the kingdom of Africa, while in the *Pelegrino* the date given to the events of the poem is 1280.

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1. No written record of the discovery of the bodies prior to 1619 is known to exist, and we might therefore doubt the story of their disinterment at an earlier date than this. As, however, the discovery of two such bodies would be a very sufficient cause for the revival of interest in the story of Marsilla and Isabel clearly evidenced by the numerous poems and plays written about them between 1555 and 1619, we may accept the story of the discovery of the mummies in 1555.

The account of the «papel de letra muy antigua» is the only one in which Isabel tells her husband the story of Marsilla's death as something in which she is not concerned; in all the others she immediately relates the circumstances as they have occurred.

In the *Memoria genealógica* alone (cf. Gabarda, p. 371) as before observed, is there any material divergence from the legend as given in the other accounts. — Hartzenbusch's drama is not referred to here among the other versions of the legend, since he is known to have followed so far as possible the traditional Spanish form.

#### D. IV, 10.

This story in Spanish is to be found in Matías de los Reyes' *Menandro* where it is retold with some changes and some additions and is combined with another of Boccaccio's *novelle* (D. IX, 6)<sup>1</sup> the same character (Moncada) being the hero of both. Moncada and his friend Menandro arrive at night fall at the house of Doristo, where the events of the sixth *novella* of the ninth day are that night enacted.

The original *novella* is as follows :

1) The young wife of Mazzeo della Montagna has as her lover a scapegrace, Ruggieri da Jeroli by name.

2) Mazzeo one morning prepares an opiate for one of his patients upon whose leg he must perform a painful operation, and places it to settle in the window of his bed-room. During the afternoon he is unexpectedly called away, and his wife, sure that he will not return till morning, sends for her lover and locks him in her room until the household shall be asleep. 3) Ruggieri drinks the opiate thinking it to be water, and immediately falls into a sleep so deep that Mazzeo's wife is unable to rouse him, thinks him dead, and finally calls in her maid for counsel.

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1. Cf. *infra*, p. 141.

4) She advises that Ruggieri be first stabbed, and then put in a chest which she has that afternoon seen standing outside a carpenter's house.

Mazzeo's wife cannot make up her mind to do her lover violence but, with the maid's help, the latter part of the suggestion is carried out, and Ruggieri is placed in the chest which is presently stolen and taken home by two usurers.

5) Towards morning Ruggieri awakes, and gets out of the chest, but arouses the family, in spite of his efforts to find his way out of the house quietly. In the tumult that ensues he is arrested and handed over to the police as a thief; and, his bad reputation serving as evidence of his guilt, he is sentenced to be hanged.

6) When Mazzeo's wife learns of Ruggieri's arrest she can hardly believe her ears, but on her husband's return she finds out what her lover had drunk on the previous evening, and the mystery is cleared up. To save Ruggieri's life she instructs her maid to tell Mazzeo what has occurred, representing herself, however, and not her mistress, to be the woman involved.

7) The doctor believes the maid's story, and permits her to obtain the release of Ruggieri, who then continues his visits to Mazzeo's wife.

Reyes' *El Menandro*, fol. 19 v<sup>o</sup> — 54 v<sup>o</sup> 1

Reyes puts the story into the mouth of Doristo, the host with whom Moncada and Menandro are to pass the night, and tells the tale with the following divergences from the *novella* of the *Decameron*.

1) The action takes place in Bologna; the doctor is called Luciano, his wife Lisena, and her maid Julia. The part of Ruggieri da Jeroli is played by Moncada.

3) The night on which he inadvertently drinks a soporific, is the occasion of Moncada's first visit to Lisena. He is introduced

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1. *El Menandro* || De || Matias de los Reyes, natural de Madrid || A. || D. Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, || Cavallero dela Orden de Santiago, || del Consejo del Rey nuestro Señor, || en el Supremo de Indias. || Impreso en Jaen || Por Francisco Perez de Castilla || Año de 1636.

The copy owned by the Bib. Nac. of Madrid (R. 4676) is imperfect, the title-page and many pages of the text being in manuscript and set in. None of these manuscript pages contain any part of the stories taken from Boccaccio. Cf. also Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. IV, n<sup>o</sup> 3600.

into her room by Julia, and drinks the medicated water while she has gone to notify her mistress of his arrival.

4) Julia advises first that Moncada be thrown into a well, next, buried in the garden and finally that he be thrown into the street after having been well stabbed. At last Liraco is called in. He offers to dispose of Moncada, and, shouldering him, carries him to the cemetery where he deposits him upon the *osario*. That same night an old witch goes to the *osario* to get bones and teeth with which to work her charms; she arrives at the very moment (5) when Moncada is coming out of his sleep. Each one of them is so frightened by the other that they both faint. The cry of the old woman brings to the spot the officers of the police, who are lying in wait for her, with the result that both she and Moncada are arrested and lodged in jail.

6) Julia, *proprio motu*, devises the means for rescuing Moncada, while the steps (7) to free him are taken by the old doctor himself.

Reyes' continuation of Moncada's adventures shows that he still had in mind the same *novella* of the *Decameron* that he has followed so closely up to this point. The Spanish story proceeds thus :

The Doctor and all his family remove to Rome. Soon Lisena and her maid quarrel. The latter, confessing to Luciano that she has lied to him, and telling him the truth about Moncada's visits to the house, discloses to him the means used by Lisena to see her lover : she has Moncada come into her room and secrete himself in a chest which she calls her treasure box. When the Doctor is asleep, Moncada comes out of his concealment and the lovers are free to behave as they will. Armed with this information, Luciano that night assures himself of his wife's infidelity. The following day he orders Liraco and another servant to come to his room at two o'clock in the morning and carry off the chest, which they are instructed to throw into the Tiber.

The first part of these orders they carry out, but as the two men are about to throw their burden into the water, they are attacked by bandits who fall upon them with blows and make off with the box.

Liraco and Crisaluo reach Doristo's house in an unconscious condition having been brought there by the horse who was familiar with the way. They declare that they have been attacked by demons, who snatched the box from the wagon and bore it skyward. Doristo, having heard from Liraco the story of Moncada's intrigue with Lisena, and of his lamentable end, is naturally greatly surprised when the young man appears at his door. He repeats to Moncada the account given him by Liraco asking him to explain his escape from death.

The old Doctor finally disposes of his wife and Julia in the following manner. As the two women ride one day along the bank of the Tiber, the mules on which they are mounted make for the water at the point where the current is the strongest. Lisena and her maid are swept off of their animals, all efforts to save them prove ineffectual, and both women are drowned.

To bring about this vengeance, the Doctor had kept the mules two days without water, and had then planned a ride along the river with this dénouement in mind<sup>1</sup>.

D. V, 4.

This *novella* forms the basis of Lope de Vega's *comedia* « *El ruyseñor de Sevilla* ».

Boccaccio's story runs thus :

1) Lizio da Valbona, and his wife Madonna Giacomina have a daughter Caterina, over whom they watch with the greatest strictness in the hope of

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1. *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Paris, Garnier, 1893, nouvelle XLVII, pp. 223-226.

some day making a great marriage for her. Caterina falls in love with Ricciardo who lives across the way, and he returns her affection. Her parents have never considered this young man as a possible suitor for their daughter, and he has come and gone in the house like a member of the family.

2) Having confessed to one another their mutual passion, Caterina and Ricciardo cannot meet unless they devise a means for eluding the watchfulness of Caterina's parents. Ricciardo suggests that if Caterina can persuade her father and mother to allow her to sleep upon a terrace near the garden, he will climb the wall at night and come to her.

3) Caterina accordingly complains to her mother that the heat prevents her from sleeping, and finally succeeds in inducing her parents to permit her bed to be made upon the terrace where the air is fresh and she can hear the nightingale. By a preconcerted signal she makes known her success to Ricciardo, who that night climbs the garden wall and in the morning is discovered with Caterina by her father. 4) Lizio calls his wife to see how their daughter has caught the nightingale. Madonna Giacomina on seeing Ricciardo in Caterina's arms, is about to burst into angry reproaches and awaken the lovers, but her husband, with calmer judgement, realizes that such a measure will only dishonor the family name, and persuades her to silence. 5.) When Ricciardo and Caterina awake, he bids the young man prepare either to die or to take Caterina as his lawful wife. Ricciardo, who genuinely loves the girl, is only too glad to buy his life at such a price, and the lovers are then and there betrothed with one of Madonna Giacomina's rings.

### Lope's *El ruyseñor de Sevilla* <sup>1</sup>.

The main lines of the original story are easily traceable in Lope's play, though the nature of the *novella* is such that not a few changes are necessary in a version intended for the stage. The personages are much more numerous than in the *novella*. They are (besides the three main characters of Lucinda, her father Justino and her lover Don Felix) Dorotea, a cousin and

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1. *Decima Septima* || *Parte de* || *las Comedias de* || *Lope de Vega Carpio*, Pro- || curador Fiscal de la Camara Apos- || tolica, y || Familiar del Santo Oficio de || la Inquisicion. || Dirigida a diver- || sas Personas. || Año 1621. || Con Privilegio. || En Madrid, Por Fernando Correa || de Montenegro. || Acosta de Miguel de Siles mercader de libros, Vendense en su casa en la || calle Real de las Descalças. || fol. 187, *El Ruyseñor de Sevilla* || *Comedia Famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio*.

confidential friend of Lucinda; Riselo, a friend and servant of Don Felix; Fabio, an old friend of Lucinda's father; Don Juan, to whom Justino has promised Lucinda for his wife; Adriano, brother to Lucinda, absent in Lima until the third act; and Lisarda, Fabio's daughter, who during the greater part of the play appears disguised as a man, Pedro, in the service of Don Felix.

As the title shows, the scene is laid in Seville where Lucinda's father is *veinticuatro*; her mother is dead.

### *Act I*

When introduced, Lucinda is represented as very down-hearted and sad, and we learn from her confidences to Dorotea that she loves her neighbor Don Felix, whom she has seen at his window across the way. Her own life is so secluded that Felix does not even know of her existence. Lucinda's father, with the advice of Fabio, determines to marry his daughter to Don Juan; Don Felix chances to be asked to serve as witness to the marriage contract of Don Juan and Lucinda, with whom he falls in love at his first sight of her. Lucinda notices that he looks at her with admiration, and pretends to faint in order to avoid signing the marriage contract. By one device and another she determines to delay her union with Don Juan; in the meantime she hopes that fortune will favor her love for Felix. Riselo, who is bound that his master shall have Lucinda, when he sees her apparently unconscious makes his way to her side under pretext of knowing an incantation by which he can cure her. He assures himself of her love for Felix, and tells her of Felix' equal passion for her.

### *Act II*

A second pretended faint causes Lucinda's father to send for Riselo, whose success in restoring her to consciousness is so



remarkable, that Justino offers him from that time on, free entrance into the house. Riselo becomes the bearer of various notes between the lovers through which a meeting in the garden is finally concerted between them. At this meeting they intend to devise some means by which Lucinda can break off her intended marriage with Don Juan, and become the wife of Don Felix.

To prepare the way for her tryst with Felix, Lucinda continues to appear deeply melancholy. Justino asks if he shall have musicians come to cheer her; but she replies that better than any musician is the nightingale that sings every night in the orange tree, and she begs her father's permission to sleep in an unoccupied room whose the windows open upon the garden, in order that she may the better enjoy its song. He grants her request upon the condition that her cousin Dorotea shall sleep with her. Lucinda communicates this good news to Felix, who that night makes her his first visit, accompanied by Riselo to whom Dorotea has taken a fancy.

### *Act III*

The song of the nightingale has quite dispelled Lucinda's depression; her doting father takes in good faith the story she tells him of its singing, and in order that the servants with their noise may not frighten away the bird too early in the morning, forbids any one of them to rise before nine o'clock. They are all to go to bed at sundown.

On the day preceding the one set for her formal betrothal to Don Juan, Lucinda, in the presence of her father and of her promised husband, cleverly reminds Felix of his appointed meeting with her that evening.

Now Adrian, who escaping from justice has returned from Lima to Seville, comes at night to greet his father. He asks for his sister and a servant is sent to call her, who soon returns with

the information that Lucinda has caught her nightingale and is at that moment sleeping in his arms ; while Dorotea is giving hospitality to another bird. Adrian and Juan (who is also present) are for killing the offenders straightway, but the father reminds them that such an act would only bring the family name into disgrace.

At this juncture Felix and Riselo enter with drawn swords and announce that they are the « esposos » of Lucinda and Dorotea. As an evidence of good faith each gives his hand to his mistress in the presence of the assembled witnesses, and peace is made.

Adrian marries Lisarda, and Don Juan transfers his affections to Celia, Fabio's niece, who brings him a dower of forty thousand ducats.

In some of the characters of his play, Lope seems really to use Boccaccio's conception as hardly more than a point of departure. Lucinda, to be sure, shows no traits that are not suggested in Caterina ; her father, however, is a very different person from the stern Lizio, for although his effort is to keep watch over Lucinda with Argus eyes, he is indulgent to a fault and is easily deceived by his astute daughter. Felix, a much more dashing character than Ricciardo, is somewhat of a libertine, and though a Saavedra, by no means the man Justino would have chosen for Lucinda's husband. He makes his first appearance crossing swords with Don Juan, with whom he has quarreled about one Lucrecia, a woman notorious for her light behavior.

Two important figures of the Spanish *comedia*, Riselo and Pedro are creations of Lope ; and they are not only the most diverting characters of the play, but Riselo is a quick-witted, inventive wag, without whose intervention Felix would never have carried his love affair with Lucinda to a successful issue. He delights in tormenting his master by bringing him at first discouraging reports of his interviews with Lucinda, telling

him that all hope is gone, and that she is surely to be the wife of Don Juan. Riselo is very proud of his own immunity from the influence of women, and swears that no one of them has ever inveigled him into making her the most trifling gift.

Riselo, however, is far behind Pedro (the disguised Lisarda) in mischievous inventiveness. Lisarda has returned to Spain in search of Adrian, with whom she has been in love in the far-off « Indias ». She engages herself as page to Don Felix, for whom she feels an incipient attachment; but when she perceives that her affection for him will be hopeless she turns all her attention to playing tricks upon Riselo. She is « picardía » incarnate and several times completely befools her otherwise sharp-sighted companion. Once she tells him that she has brought from the Indies some gold plates, and has buried them at the edge of the river to avoid the examination at the custom house; she offers Riselo a share in the treasure if he will go into the river to dig it up. At night they make their way to the Betis; Riselo undresses and gets into the water. He can find no treasure whatever, and on reaching the shore again discovers that Pedro has made off with his clothes. He is obliged to go home, as he describes it, « en el puro cordovan ». Arrived at the house, he raps at the door; Pedro appears with a torch, and pretending to think him the soul of some man who has met his death by drowning, arouses all the neighbors, who run to the spot carrying lights.

Again, dressed as a woman, Pedro inveigles the hard-hearted Riselo into giving her a ruby of some value, and persuades him to accompany her home. She enters the house first, ostensibly to see if the coast is clear for him to follow her. She soon reappears in man's clothes, and telling Riselo that no woman has been about the house from which she has just emerged, walks off, leaving him completely mystified.

The action throughout the play is extremely lively; the situations are humorous, and the dialogue easy and often witty. The characters are well thought-out, and life-like, and those added

by Lope consistent with the spirit of the original story. Unfortunately the text is in many places very corrupt.

Lope was evidently keenly alive to the droll humor of the original *novella* which he has succeeded marvelously well in recalling in his *comedia*. We cannot but admire the fine skill with which he has adapted for the stage a story, which, upon first consideration would seem wholly unfit for dramatic representation.

D. V, 9.

Upon this story of Boccaccio's Lope has formed his play "*El falcon de Federico*. The *novella* of the *Decameron* is this :

Federigo degli Alberighi, renowned for his skill at arms and his courtesy above all the other youths of Florence, loves Monna Giovanna, and spends his entire fortune in jousts and feasting in her honor, but without any recognition on the part of Giovanna, who is as virtuous as she is beautiful.

At last, of all his riches he has nothing left but a small estate in the country, and a handsome falcon, one of the finest of its kind. He is obliged to withdraw to his country property where he lives upon the very meagre income that it brings him, and spends his time in hunting with the falcon. This sport is not only a recreation for him; it also helps to furnish his table.

2) Now the husband of Monna Giovanna dies, leaving his large fortune to their young son, and in case of the death of the child, to its mother, whom he has greatly loved. Upon his death Giovanna also retires to a country estate, which as it chances, borders upon Federigo's. Her young son forms a friendship with their neighbor and becomes deeply attached to the falcon. He often longs to own the bird, but never ventures to ask for it, knowing how dear it is to its owner.

3) The child falls ill. His mother asks him again and again if there is anything it will give him pleasure to have, and he at last tells her that if he can have Federigo's falcon he thinks he will soon recover. Giovanna hesitates a moment to ask Federigo for his one remaining treasure, but ends by promising her son that she will try to satisfy his wish.

4) On the next morning, accordingly, accompanied by another lady, she goes to Federigo's house, and tells him that to make up for the wrong she may

have done him in the past she has come to breakfast with him. Federigo's joy is great, but it turns to despair when he finds that in all his house there is nothing fit to offer Giovanna. He is at his wits' end, when his eye falls upon the falcon; he takes the bird in his hands, and finding it fat, thinks that it will make a dish worthy of his guest. Without more ado he wrings its neck, has it roasted and set before his visitors.

When the company has breakfasted Giovanna makes her request. Federigo is heart-broken to find that the one thing she has ever asked of him he is unable to give her, and falls to weeping in her presence. His grief the lady first interprets as regret at parting with his beloved bird, but his explanation, and the sight of its beak, wings and claws, which he shows her, convince her that his tears spring from a less selfish motive, and she realizes his greatness of heart.

5) Monna Giovanna's son dies within a few days, and she, being urged by her brothers to marry, consents upon condition that Federigo shall be her husband.

#### Lope's *El halcon de Federico* <sup>1</sup>.

The incidents of Boccaccio's story are all found in Lope's *comedia* where they have been reproduced with even unusual fidelity. In but one, indeed, (4) is there any notable deviation from the original: when Celia (Giovanna) makes her visit to Federico, she rides a gayly caparisoned mule and is herself gorgeously clad. She is accompanied by her maid, Clauela. Fabio, Federico's servant, who has seen her coming, concludes that she is going to dine with them, and tells this to his master. On learning from his steward that there is nothing on the entire estate which will serve to offer Celia, Federico suddenly bethinks himself of his falcon, and disappears to kill it.

Celia, however has no idea of breaking bread with her

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1. *Trezena* || *Parte de las* || *Comedias de Lope* || *de Vega Carpio*, Procvrador || Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica en el Arço = || bispado de Toledo. || Dirigidas, cada vna de || por si, a diferentes personas. || Año 1620. || Con Privilegio || En Madrid, por la Viuda de Alonso Martin. || A costa de Alonso Perez mercador de libros. || fol. 29. *El Halcon* || *De Federico, Come* || *dia famosa, de Lope de Vega Carpio*.

neighbor, but with very little preamble asks him for the bird, for which she offers to pay. Before she can return to her own estate, she is summoned by a servant who tells her that her son, Cesar, is on the point of death. She reaches home in time for him to die in her arms.

To Lope's mind, this plain tale of simple events seems to have presented but scant material from which to evolve a three act play; for the Spanish playwright, besides developing suggestions given in the original, has brought in not a few new characters. Among these are Camilo, Celia's husband; Julia, a woman of rather light character with whom Federico has been in love; Fabio, Federico's faithful servant; Clauela, Celia's maid, and Perote a feeble-minded fellow in whose fool's speeches we are intended to find much sound sense. Early in the play, he prophesies to Federico that he will win his lady by means of a falcon.

The *comedia* opens with a conversation between Federico and Fabio which discloses to the audience that in a recent tourney which Federico has entered in the hope of winning the favor of Celia, Federico has been the most successful competitor. His prize, a feather of diamonds, he bids Fabio carry as homage to Celia; and the servant takes this opportunity to reprove his master for his extravagance, reminding him of his debts, and telling him that all Florence is criticising his mad expenditure of money.

While Boccaccio says briefly that Giovanna's husband loved her very greatly, Lope develops the relation between Celia and Camilo. Celia adores her husband, is jealous of him, and sends a servant to spy upon him when he is absent. Camilo is at first annoyed by this too great affection; he envies his bachelor friends their liberty to come and go, and to divert themselves as they please, and gladly accompanies one of them to the house of Julia. A hint, however, thrown out by Julia, of Federico's devotion to Celia, — known apparently to all Florence save to Camilo, — arouses his jealousy and throws him into a profound melancholy,

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which is at last the cause of his death. This depression Celia lays to the enchantments of Julia, whom she knows that her husband has seen. She goes in disguise to Julia's house, and charging her with bewitching Camilo, falls into a noisy altercation with her.

The greater part of the second act is taken up with the affairs of Celia and her husband, and much of the third with scenes which lay bare Federico's pitiful poverty, and the absolute wretchedness in which he lives.

Lope seems in a great measure to have missed the fineness and distinction of Boccaccio's story, which is conspicuous among the *novelle* of the *Decameron* alike for loveliness of conception and beauty of style. Celia lacks the gentle dignity of Monna Giovanna, of whom we can think neither as confiding to her servant her jealous suspicions of her husband, nor as quarreling in strident tones with a woman of dubious reputation. The Celia who in elaborate attire makes Federico a stiff visit and offers to pay for the falcon, is a different person from the gracious woman who goes to breakfast with her neighbor and makes her request in the most considerate terms possible.

Federico as well as Celia has suffered at Lope's hands, for not only does Lope give her a predecessor in Federico's affection, but he represents his hero as treating his earlier love (Julia) in a fashion far from courteous. Celia is the dearer to him because she is married and beyond his reach; and he even goes so far as to say that were she his wife, he should doubtless already be tired of her.

Camilo's illness and death are clumsily managed, for though Lope make attempts to explain them, neither one is accounted for by a sufficient cause. A hint thrown out by such a woman as Julia, that his wife is loved by Federico, without a suggestion even, that Celia returns this affection, is hardly adequate reason for Camilo's profound dejection; nor is it plausible that this ill-founded melancholy should lead to insanity, which after four years results in his death.

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Cesar's illness is likewise abruptly introduced and without convincing explanation.

A play in which the characters lack charm and the episodes, improbable in themselves, are handled without skill, cannot but fail to hold the interest. Such is the case with *El halcon de Federico*. In addition, the action drags, and many of the scenes — such as those in which the mad Perote appears, — are very tiresome; while the involved, figurative language, however agreeable to readers of Lope's day, to our minds only extends the list already long, of the *comedia's* undesirable characteristics.

There is not a little similarity between some parts of Lope's *Halcon* and Tirso de Molina's *Palabras y Plumas*<sup>1</sup>. In the latter play as in the former, the hero spends his entire fortune in honoring the woman he loves, receiving nothing but discouragement in return. He withdraws with his servant to a country-place where he lives in extreme poverty and where circumstances make the lady his guest. He has great difficulty in finding anything to offer her for supper, but the servant's efforts at last save the situation.

Act I, scene III of *Palabras y Plumas* recalls the opening scene of *El Halcon*. Don Iñigo and his servant Gallardo are talking of a "sortija" given by Don Iñigo in Matilde's honor, in which he has carried off many prizes. Gallardo reproves his master for his reckless waste of money.

Another scene in which the two plays are very similar is that in which Don Iñigo and Gallardo discuss the resources at hand for Matilde's supper (cf. *Palabras y Plumas*, Act II, sc. v).

The two *comedias*, however, though bearing these resemblances

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1. *Comedias escogidas de Fray Gabriel Tellez* (el Maestro Tirso de Molina). B. A. E., vol. 5, p. 1.



to one another, are unlike in many particulars. Don Iñigo has a rival for Matilde's favor, and proves his loyal devotion to her by twice saving her life and by protecting her when she has been exiled upon a false charge of treason.

Cotarelo says that *Palabras y Plumas* was written before 1607<sup>1</sup>, but his argument which rests upon the mention of the words « palabras y plumas » in the speech of Doña Inés in *La Villana de la Sagra* (Act II, sc. iv) is not entirely convincing. This simple combination of words may have suggested to Tirso the title of a *comedia* as well after as before having been set down in *La Villana de la Sagra*. So far as is positively known, *Palabras y Plumas* was first printed in 1627 (*aprobacion* 1626)<sup>2</sup>. *El Halcon* was printed for the first time in 1620 (*aprobacion* 1619). There is therefore no conclusive proof that Lope's play was influenced by Tirso's. Indeed we may rather think the reverse to have been the case, for it is improbable that Lope, who had a definite source in his mind, should have sought in Tirso's play details for the development of his plot. Tirso, on the other hand, may easily have known Lope's play as well as its original source, and seeing its good and weak points may have developed its general underlying idea as he saw fit.

*Palabras y Plumas* is a far better play than *El Halcon* both in character delineation and in construction of plot and episodes. Had Lope been influenced by it in his elaboration of Boccaccio's story, he could hardly have failed to use his model to greater advantage<sup>3</sup>.

1. *Tirso de Molina, Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas* por Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. Madrid, 1893, p. 154.

2. *Id.*, pp. 80-81.

3. Plays upon subjects analogous to that of Tirso's *Palabras y Plumas*, are Bretón de los Herreros' *Finezas contra desvíos* (*Obras*, Madrid, 1883, tomo 3) and Tomás Rodríguez Rubí's *Bandera negra*.

## D. VI, 4.

This *novella* is retold by Timoneda (*Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*) and by Melchor de Santa Cruz (*Floresta Española*); in both cases it is given in the short form of an anecdote.

Boccaccio's story is as follows :

Currado Gianfigliuzzi, a famous huntsman, one day brings down a fine crane which he orders his servant to prepare for dinner. Chichibio, the cook, gives away to his sweetheart one leg of the bird, and when called to account for it by Currado, declares that no crane has more than one leg. His master is very angry and threatens punishment unless the servant can prove his statement, and the next day, to test the truth of the cook's assertion, master and man ride together to a pond where the birds are wont to assemble. At the water's edge, as usual, they see a number of cranes, standing each upon one leg. Chichibio, thinking that he is saved, points them out to his master, but Currado crying *Ho-Ho* frightens the birds and they fly away, extending the second leg. "What say you now, glutton?" asks Currado. "Master", replies Currado, "had you cried *Ho-Ho* to the bird upon the table, it also would have extended the other leg."

By this witty answer Chichibio banishes his master's wrath, and saves himself from the threatened punishment.

Timoneda's *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*,  
*Parte II, Cuento XLV* <sup>1</sup>.

Timoneda's version of the story runs thus :

Por que se dijo. — *Si dijera oje, sacara su pierna.*

"Habiendo un caballero muerto una grulla, mandó a su cocinero que la asase; y como el señor tardase, comióse el cocinero la una pierna. Y venido el señor, y puesta la grulla en la mesa, dijo: ¿' qué es de la otra pierna?' Respondió el cocinero que no tenía mas de una. Calló por entonces el señor y cuando fué otro día a caza de grullas, dijo el cocinero: ' mire, señor, que

1. *Segunda Parte del Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*. B.A.E., vol. 3, p. 180. Cf. Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. 2, p. 242, nº 2178.

*Revue hispanique*. 1905.

no tienen mas de una' (y es porque acostumbran de tener la otra alzada). Entonces el caballero fué acia ellas, y dijoles : ' ojte', y volaron cada una con sus dos piernas. Y dijo el caballero : ' ¿ cómo tiene cada una dos piernas?' Respondió el cocinero : ' tambien si á la que estaba en el plato dijera ojte, sacara su pierna como las otras'.

Timoneda cannot be congratulated upon the skill with which he retells this story : the master does not seem in the least disturbed by the loss of the crane's leg; the cook does not state that all cranes are one-legged; no punishment is threatened. There is therefore no apparent reason for the expedition of the master and his servant and Timoneda's casual reference to their excursion would seem to imply that gentlemen were in the habit of going hunting with their cooks.

Melchor de Santa Cruz, *Floresta Española*,  
*Parte II, N<sup>o</sup> lxij, f. 53 v<sup>o</sup> 1.*

Melchor de Santa Cruz calls the master Juan de Ayala and tells the story in this wise :

Ivan de ayala señor de la villa de Cebolla, bolo vna grulla. Su cozinero la guiso, & dio vna pierna della a su amiga. Siruiendola a la mesa, dixo Iuan de Ayala. Y la otra pierna. Respondio el cozinero. No tenia mas de vna : porque todas lasgrullas no tienen sino vna. Otro dia Iuan de Ayala mando yr a caça al cozinero. Y hallando vna banda de grullae, estauan todas en un pie, Dixo el

1. *Floresta || Española De || Apothegmas, o Sen || tencias, sabia y graciosa- || mente dichas, de algu- || nos Españoles.* || Colegidas por Melchior de San- || cta Cruz de Dueñas, vezino || de la ciudad de || Toledo. || Dirigido al Excelentissimo señor || don Iuan de Austria. || Impreso con licencia de la || C. R. M. En Toledo. || En casa de Francisco de Guzman. || Año de 1574. || Esta tassado en tres marauedis el pliego. || Cf. also Gallardo, vol. IV, col. 484-85, no 3860, and Salvá, vol. 2. pp. 237, 238, nos 2162-2165.

cozinero. Veá vuestra merced si es verdad lo gue dixé. Iuan de Ayalla arremetio con su cauallo, diziendo, ox, ox, ox, Las grullas bolaron, y estendieron sus piernas, & dixo. Vellaco, mira si tienen dos piernas, o vna. Dixo el cozinero, Cuerpo de Dios, señor, dixerades vos ox, ox a la gue teniades en el plato, y entonces ella estendiera la pierna, que la tenia encogida.

This version bears a nearer resemblance to the original than does Timoneda's, though here too, Juan de Ayala's passive acceptance of his servant's theft leaves their hunting expedition without satisfactory explanation.

There is not, so far as I know, any earlier Spanish version of the *novella* than the *Cuento* of the *Sobremesa*; nevertheless as it is a story which lends itself well to telling as an anecdote, and as Timoneda's form of it lacks certain essential features of Boccaccio's tale, it is not at all certain that *Cuento* XLV represents a conscious effort to retell the story as it appears in the *Decameron*.

It is equally impossible to assert that Melchor de Santa Cruz knew Timoneda's version of the anecdote, but it is to be noted that the *Floresta* (1574), — a dozen years later in date than the *Sobremesa* (1562-63), — contains several anecdotes given already in the latter book, among them, one based on a story from the *Decameron*<sup>1</sup>. The probability seems to be that these tales were generally well-known, and were common property of all the compilers of anecdotes, who told them as they remembered them, attributing the experiences to this or that person as fancy dictated.

#### D. VII. 7<sup>2</sup>.

Timoneda has used this *novella* for one of the *cuentos* in his

1. Cf. *infra*, pp. 144 et sq. Cf. also Dunlop-Liebrecht, *l. c.*, p. 237.

2. For *Giorn.* VII, 4 cf. *infra*, p. 210.

*Sobremesa* ; it also appears as a " Novela en redondillas " in the *Romancero general*, and is the basis of the *entremés* « *El verdadero amigo* » (*Floresta de entremeses*, 1684) <sup>1</sup>.

The main outlines of the original *novella* are as follows :

1) Ludovico, a Florentine noble in the service of the king of France, hears from some knights returning from the Holy Land of the beauty of Beatrice, wife of Egano of Bologna. He falls in love with her upon hearsay, determines to go to Bologna to see her, and arrived there finds her even more beautiful than report had made her.

2) To be near her, he takes service in her husband's house, where under the name of Anichino his faithful performance of his duties soon wins him his master's confidence.

3) One day while Egano is away hunting, Anichino tells Beatrice who he is, and confesses his love for her. She is not displeased, and promises that she will leave her door open so that he may come so her at midnight.

4) At the appointed hour Anichino comes to the room and touches Beatrice to see if she is awake. She takes fast hold of his hand, awakens her husband, and asks him in which of all his servants he puts the greatest trust. " In Anichino ", answers Egano, while that faithful servant tries in vain to free himself from Beatrice's grasp. " So I thought ", says his wife, " and I too trusted him until this afternoon, when during your absence he sought my love so ardently that I appeared to yield to his entreaties, and promised to meet him at midnight in the garden beneath the pine tree. Therefore, if you wish to test your servant's fidelity, you have but to put on my clothes and take my place in the garden ". Egano follows his wife's advice and (5) Beatrice loses no time in locking the door after him.

6) She soon bids Anichino rise and go down into the garden taking with him a stout stick; with it he must fall to beating the pretended woman, upbraiding her for her unfaithfulness, and telling her that his solicitations have been intended only to put her loyalty to proof.

7) This crafty scheme of Beatrice succeeds perfectly. Egano returns to his bed bruised but happy in the conviction that his wife is above reproach and his servant a model of fidelity. After this time Anichino and Beatrice are free to indulge their love without suspicion on the part of Egano.

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1. W. Henry Schofield, *l. c.*, p. 202, III. The *Curioso Impertinente* is analogous to Boccaccio's *novella* only in that both stories tell of a man whose over-great confidence in a person whom he has reason to trust blinds him to the injury done him.

Timoneda's *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*,  
*Parte I. Cuento LXIX* <sup>1</sup>.

“ Tenia un aldeano mujer hermosa, la cual se revolvia con un criado de casa. Y como el marido lo sospechase, ella por deshacelle las sospechas, dijole un dia : “ señor marido, habeis de saber que por haberme requerido de amores mi criado, y porque vos veais si así es, le he prometido esta noche aguardarle junto de la puerta del corral. Por tanto conviene que vos vistais de mis vestidos para aguardalle en el mismo lugar. Dicho ” esto, fué al criado, y contado su negocio, dijole : “ toma un palo, y en venir que le veas vestido, dale con él, diciendo : ¿ tan lijeramente me habeis de creer, perra traidora ? que esto no lo hacia sino por probarte ”. En fin, venidos al puesto, habiendo recibido los palos el cornudo, dijo á su criado : “ al no ser tu tan fiel como lo has mostrado, se pudiera decir por mí, cornudo y apaleado. — Mas no, dijo el criado, sino sobre cuernos penitencia ”.

This abridgment of Boccaccio's *novella* and the *Novela in redondillas* (not “ romance ”) have been briefly discussed by Mr. Schofield in *The Source and History of the Seventh Novel of the Seventh Day in the Decameron* <sup>2</sup>. Mr. Schofield observes that though the conclusion is new — “ mas no ”, dijo el criado, “ sino sobre cuernos penitencia ”, — Timoneda's anecdote, which contains the phrase “ cornudo y apaleado ” of the *novela* in verse, is possibly an abbreviation of the rhymed version. In that case, however, the latter form would be earlier than the time of Cervantes, the date assigned to it by F. W. V. Schmidt (*Beiträge zur Gesch. der romantischen Poesie*, 1818, p. 73). Mr. Schofield since he is discussing but one of Boccaccio's stories, has had no

1. *Primera Parte del Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes* B.A.E., vol. 3, p. 175. Cf. *supra*, p. 129, note 1.

Cf. also Dunlop-Liebrecht, *l. c.*, p. 490. *Ann.* 318.

2. Cf. *supra*, p. 2, note 5.

occasion to take into account that since Timoneda is known to have adapted other *novelle* of the *Decameron*, his source is more likely to have been the original tale than its Spanish version in *redondillas*.

Here, however, as in the case of the other *cuentos* of the *Sobremesa*, we are at a loss to know whether Timoneda had the definite intention of reproducing the *novella* as one of Boccaccio's, or whether he was simply setting down a story whose piquant features had already made it so widely known that any specific authorship was already lost sight of. There is no Spanish version known to be earlier than this one, and yet the *cuento* is certainly widely removed from the original both in form and in spirit. For Timoneda has left out the bed-room scene with all that precedes it, and it is precisely the details in the early part of the *novella*, — as far as the servant's declaration of love to his mistress, — and Boccaccio's manner of telling them, that save the story from vulgarity.

*The Novela in redondillas* <sup>1</sup>.

The story in this case begins with the servant's confession of his love for his mistress, and from this point has all the episodes of the original *novella*. The changes and additions are trifling; the most important of them are the following.

1) The principal figures are a merchant of Valladolid, his beautiful wife and one of their servants.

3) The lady is at first angry at the servant's presumption, but soon forgives him, and asks him what it is in her that has won his love. He replies that it is the beauty of her hair, eyes, mouth, cheeks and hands.

4) Arrived at the bedside, the lover stumbles against a rat-trap, and pauses, his foot in air, to see if the noise has awakened his master; he is reassured by hearing the merchant snore.

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1. *Romancero general*, Madrid, 1600, f. 344<sup>ro</sup>. I consulted the facsimile edition of Mr. Archer M. Huntington. New York, 1904.

5) The lover, in spite of his good fortune is somewhat disturbed lest after the wife's frank speech her husband may in some way discover him. It is on seeing his uneasiness that the lady suggests his going down into the garden.

7) Nothing is said about subsequent meetings of the lovers.

This rhymed version of Boccaccio's story, whose anonymous author had both a keen sense of humor and not a little skill in writing easy verses, cannot, as Mr. Schofield observes, be an expansion of Timoneda's anecdote, since it contains many features of the *novella* not to be found in the *cuento*.

This being the case, it must go back for its source to the original story.

Andrés Gil's *Entremes famoso del Amigo verdadero*<sup>1</sup>.

The actors are Rodrigo, his wife Ines, his "true friend" Martin, and some musicians.

Rodrigo confides to Martin his suspicions of his wife's disloyalty, and asks him to help him watch her. Martin, who loves Ines, is delighted to take advantage of the opportunity thus given him to see her as often as he wishes. Rodrigo gives his friend authority to punish Ines if he finds her at fault, as though Martin himself were the offended husband.

Martin immediately goes in to see Ines, and is overheard by Rodrigo from behind a curtain, as he tells her of his love and she responds.

Exit Martin and enter Rodrigo with a knife, prepared to kill his wife. Ines protests that she is innocent, and has merely wished to open the way to punish Martin for his unrighteous soli-

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1. Cf. *Floresta de Entremeses, y rasgos del ocio, a diferentes assomptos, de Bayles, y Mogigangas*. Escritos por las mejores plumas de nuestra España. Madrid, 1680, p. 26. Cf. also Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. I, pp. 683, col. 1, and 477, nº 1342.



citations. She takes from a cupboard some of her garments, suggesting that her husband put them on, and thus disguised keep her assignation with Martin. In this wise he can give Martin his just reward.

The lover hears that the voice of the figure in woman's clothes is not that of Ines, and being further convinced of fraud by the feeling of the hand he touches, he concludes that the supposed woman is Rodrigo, draws his sword and attacks her, upbraiding her the while for offending his friend.

Ines reappears on the scene with some musicians carrying a light. They find Rodrigo in sad shape. Martin explains that he had taken Rodrigo to be Ines, and reminds his friend that he had authorized him to chastise his wife if he found her at fault.

The *entremés* is of slight importance and has little literary value. That the wife's lover is the friend (not the servant) of her husband, recalls the *Curioso Impertinente*, which was of course widely read and well known in Spain. The author of the *Verdadero Amigo* doubtless incorporated in his *entremés* bits of stories which he had heard or read, without intentionally drawing upon any definite source.

#### D. VIII. 10.

The tenth *novella* of the eight day gave Lope the plot of his *comedia* « *El anzuelo de Fenisa* ». Boccaccio's story runs :

1) Niccolò da Cignano, returning with five hundred florins' worth of cloths from the fair at Salerno, whither his employers had sent him, stops at Palermo, and having registered and stored his goods at the custom house, sets about amusing himself in the city.

2) Madonna Jancofiore, one of the harpies of Palermo, having informed herself of the riches deposited by Niccolò, looks at him with longing eyes. The young man is not slow to respond by haunting the street before her house, and after a few days is visited by Jancofiore's maid, who tells him of

his conquest, begs him to meet her mistress at a bath, and gives him a ring which she has sent him. Niccolò is delighted, meets her the next day, and from that time becomes an intimate at her house, in spite of the unfavorable rumors he hears of her character. She asks him for nothing, but makes him valuable presents.

3) Niccolò presently sells his goods, a transaction soon learned of by Jancofiore, with the result that (4) one evening after she has shown herself more liberal than ever, she is called out of the room by one of her servants, to return shortly after and throw herself weeping upon the bed. Niccolò's entreaties win from her the explanation of her grief: her brother will have his head cut off unless within a week she can send him a thousand florins. Niccolò offers her his five hundred, which she accepts, promising to repay him in a fortnight.

5) But now her ardor begins to cool. Niccolò is often refused admittance to the house, and when after two months he asks for his money and is put off with evasive replies, the young man perceives that he has been duped. Meanwhile he has received from his employers directions to send them the money due them. As he is unable to do so, he fears that his foolish conduct will be discovered, and determines to leave Palermo. (6) Instead, however, of going to Pisa, as he should have done, he sails to Naples, where the advice of Pietro dello Canigiano suggests a means of revenging himself upon Jancofiore. He returns to Palermo with a number of barrels filled with oil and water, and several chests containing almost worthless goods. Their total value does not reach two hundred florins. Having registered these barrels and casks for two thousand florins at the customs, Niccolò has them locked in the store-house, pretending that he does not wish to touch them until the arrival of other merchandise for which he is waiting.

7) Jancofiore when she hears that Niccolò has returned with such valuable goods, thinks that she has acted too precipitately, and sends for him. She excuses her conduct to him by saying that her grief for her brother had been too great to allow her to see him, and that she had deferred repaying his loan, because she had not been able to obtain the money. As a proof of her sincerity she hands him back the five hundred florins that he had lent her.

Niccolò, however, wishes not only to recover his money, but also to punish the woman, and therefore remains in Palermo apparently as completely in her power as before.

One day he comes to her very melancholy, and after many entreaties on her part, (8) tells her that the merchant vessel which he expected has been seized by the corsairs of Monaco, and can be ransomed only upon payment of ten thousand gold florins of which he must furnish one thousand. As he has invested the five hundred repaid by her, he has no means to pay his share of the ransom without selling the goods at the ware-house; and this can be one only with great loss.

9) Jancofiore offers to obtain a loan for him from an usurer, if he is willing to give a good security and to pay thirty per cent interest. Niccolò, suspecting the usurer to be Jancofiore herself, accedes to the conditions, and gives her as security a mortgage on his goods in the custom-house; but he keeps the key to the store-rooms, ostensibly to be able to show his merchandise on demand. Jancofiore is content with this arrangement, and has the thousand florins paid to Niccolò through a broker in whom she has great confidence.

10) As soon as possible hereafter, Niccolò sets sail from Palermo, leaving Jancofiore to discover the fraud of which she has been victim.

Lope's *El anzuelo de Fenisa* <sup>1</sup>.

The *Anzuelo* has all the main episodes of the *novella* of the *Decameron*. Lope has introduced some changes in details and has added not a few new characters. The most important deviations from the original in the Spanish play are the following :

*Act. I.* 1) Niccolò becomes Lucindo, a young Valencian merchant sent by his father to Palermo, there to exchange for grain his cargo of cloths and velvets. He lands in Sicily very much on his guard against women, who he says, are the greatest peril a merchant can encounter.

2) He sees Fenisa for the first time as she is returning along the sea-shore from the custom-house. She likes his appearance, approaches, asks his name, and within a short time tells him that she is deeply in love with him, and that he will be admitted to her house on saying that he brings news from her brother. Tristan, Lucindo's servant, is suspicious of Fenisa and persuades his young master to hand him his purse, chain and jewels before he goes to see her.

*Act. II.* Fenisa's servant makes her visit to Lucindo only after her mistress and the merchant have become well-acquainted and the young man has been at her house. The servant brings Lucindo a gift of six fine shirts, and refuses to accept the piece

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1. *Comedias escogidas de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, tomo III, (B. A. E., vol. 41), p. 363.

of cloth that he wishes to send Fenisa, or the money he offers herself.

3) Like Niccolò, Lucindo sells his goods, the result showing that Fenisa hears of the sale, though this is not specifically stated.

4) The day on which Fenisa pretends to have received her brother's letter, she at first will not let Lucindo see her; but she finally grants him admittance, and comes into the room already dressed in mourning, the fictitious letter in her hand.

Two thousand ducats is the sum she feigns to need, and she herself suggest that Lucindo make the loan, offering to give her jewels and other personal property as security. Lucindo, in spite of Tristan's advice to the contrary, refuses any security, and immediately sends him to fetch the money.

5) Fenisa excuses herself for not receiving Lucindo, by pretending that Tristan has failed to bring the promised loan. Her house is filled with rough soldiers brought there by Osorio, a kind of accomplice of hers, and these men, she tells Lucindo from her window, she intends to make use of, since his money is not forthcoming.

*Act. III.* (6) Between acts II and III Lucindo is supposed to have journeyed to Valencia and to have returned thence to Palermo. The real value of his chests does not reach one hundred ducats.

7) He meets Fenisa in the street, and himself tells her that he has with him three thousand ducats worth of goods. Fenisa excuses her conduct to him by saying that she had merely wished to test his love for her, and that she has suffered greatly in his absence.

8) Lucindo, to get money from Fenisa, does not use Niccolò's fiction of the seizure by pirates of his merchant vessel. He simply tells her that he wishes to borrow of a merchant three thousand ducats upon his goods in the custom-house, to tide him over to such time as he can sell these with profit.

9) Fenisa offers to provide the sum, pretending that through

a certain captain she knows of some young women who have money that they wish to put out at interest. The ducats are handed by captain Osorio to Lucindo, who gives as security the keys of his store-rooms. Before Fenisa has investigated the deposit at the custom-house, Lucindo sails away, and as he puts off, sends back a letter telling the adventuress how he has deceived her.

The most important new personages brought in by Lope are Tristan, Lucindo's servant and counsellor; Osorio, a slashing captain, Fenisa's *rufian*, and Dinarda, around whom centers a secondary plot. She is a young Sevillian girl, who, dressed as a man, comes to Palermo in search of Albano, her promised husband. Fenisa really falls in love with the disguised Dinarda (Don Juan de Lara) the revelation of whose sex at the end of the play together with the defection of Osorio, leavaes the adventuress bereft in every regard.

The men and women of the *Anzuelo* are very real people whose characters Lope develops before our eyes by laying bare their thoughts and motives. So, Fenisa's conversations with her maid reveal her complex nature. Heartless and unprincipled though she is, she appreciates the joys of true love, perhaps she even craves them, but she has once been deceived in her affections and since then has taken vengeance for her deception upon all men. Yet, though she is merciless in flaying any stranger that may cross her path, she falls genuinely in love with Don Juan de Lara (Dinarda), who, naturally unable to return her feeling, treats her with coldness and puts her off with excuses. For him she is willing to forego her freedom, and to him she is ready to give as her dower the forty thousand ducats that her nefarious practises have accumulated. As intelligent as she is unprincipled, she takes a certain pride in her acuteness and prefers a wary victim. She understands perfectly that Lucindo is on his guard against her, and that she has an enemy in Tristan.

Fenisa's intelligence and heartlessness are built up upon suggestions afforded by her Italian prototype. In the Spanish adventures these characteristics are very much developed, while her almost passionate love of freedom side by side with her intimate capacity for a sincere attachment, are due entirely to Lope's inventive brain.

The scenes between Lucindo and Tristan show how the former, at first wary and suspicious, becomes gradually convinced of the sincerity of Fenisa's affection. Lucindo is a much more suspicious character than is Boccaccio's Niccolò, and his inclination to be on his guard is encouraged by the sceptical Tristan, who is even more keenly alive than Lucindo himself to the possible dangers to his master's purse and heart.

The original story is easily followed in Lope's play, which interests because of the vivid personality of its characters, the animation of the action as a whole, the directness of the language and the life-like presentation of the bustle of a busy sea-port town. The atmosphere of trade and traffic, the coming and going of men and of ships of many nations, and the thirst for adventure in those newly arrived, make an appropriate setting for the incidents of the story, and give them an air of reality. This quality of life-likeness is very characteristic of the original *novella*, and Lope's admirable success in reproducing it, shows his appreciation of his source of inspiration.

#### D. IX, 6<sup>1</sup>.

This *novella* forms one of Moncada's adventures as told in Matías de los Reyes' *Menandro*<sup>2</sup>.

Boccaccio's story is in substance as follows :

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1. Concerning *Giorn.* IX, 2, cf. *infra*, p. 210.

2. Cf. *supra*, p. 114.

1) Pinuccio and Adriano spend the night in the house of a countryman whose daughter, Niccolosa, Pinuccio loves. The narrow quarters force the guests and all the family to sleep in one room, in which Niccolosa occupies one bed, the two guests a second, and the parents a third, beside which stands the baby's cradle.

2) During the night Pinuccio finds Niccolosa; the hostess rises to ascertain the cause of a noise she has heard; Adriano also gets up and on seeking his bed again stumbles against the cradle, which he picks up and inadvertently sets down at his own bedside.

3) The altered position of the cradle deceives the mother, who on her return to the room mistakes Adriano's bed for her husband's. Pinuccio, groping his way back to his legitimate quarters is also misled by the position of the cradle, and unwittingly lies down beside Niccolosa's father, to whom he boastingly tells of his good fortune. At the violent words with which the countryman receives his story, the mother slips into her daughter's bed, and quiets her husband by telling him that she has been with Niccolosa all night. Adriano completes the hoodwinking of his host by pretending that Pinuccio walks in his sleep, and calling loudly to his companion to waken him.

4) Pinuccio having fared so well in this adventure often returns to see Niccolosa.

Matías de los Reyes *El Menandro* fol. 19 v<sup>o</sup>-54 v<sup>o</sup> <sup>1</sup>.

The differences between the original story and the Spanish version are insignificant.

1) Menandro and Moncada are the names of the two travellers. The girl is called Gileta, her mother Laurencia, the father Doristo; their house is situated near Rome.

2) Moncada is represented as deceiving Gileta with promises to marry her. Menandro rises to try to persuade Moncada to return to his own place. He is a very different personage from Boccaccio's hero and takes no advantage of the mistake made by Gileta's mother.

4) Moncada never returns to keep his promise to Gileta.

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1. Cf. *supra*, p. 115, note 1.

## D. X, 1.

The earliest Spanish version of this *novella* is that of Antonio de Torquemada (*Los Colloquios satiricos*); it is also retold by Melchor de Santa Cruz (*La Floresta española*) and by Timoneda (*El Sobremesa* etc.) and is the basis of Lope's play *El servir con mala estrella*.

Boccaccio's story in brief is this :

1) Ruggieri, a Florentine, serves king Alfonso in Spain, performing many brilliant deeds but receiving no reward, though the king bestows great gifts upon many less deserving knights.

2) So Ruggieri, fearing that to his friends at home this slight may seem deserved, asks leave to go back to Italy. The king grants his request and gives him a mule on which to make the journey. He then instructs a messenger to overtake Ruggieri, but without letting him know that he is sent by the king. The servant is to note what Ruggieri says of Alfonso, and the next day return with him to the court.

3) Ruggieri, soon after his departure is accordingly overtaken by Alfonso's emissary. In the afternoon they rest their mounts; later, while they water them at a river, Ruggieri's mule takes occasion to do what the other animals had done during the halt; whereupon her master exclaims : " Curse you for being like him who gave you to me ". Except for this he speaks only in the king's praise. On the following morning the servant gives Ruggieri Alfonso's message, and they turn about.

4) Upon their arrival at court, the king having informed himself of what had occurred, asks Ruggieri the meaning of his comparison. " Sire " replies the Italian, " I meant that like my mule, you give where you should not, and fail to give where you should ". " My seeming neglect ", says the king, " is due to no fault of mine, but to your own unlucky star, as I shall prove to you. Here are two coffers, the one containing the crown jewels, the other nothing but earth, whichever you select is yours ". — Ruggieri's choice falls upon the coffer filled with earth.

5) But now the king, having to his mind proved his point, smiles and says : " The chest that fortune has denied you, I will give you in her despite, that my gift may testify to your valor among your countrymen ".



Torquemada's *Los Colloquios satiricos*, f<sup>o</sup> iiiij r<sup>o</sup> 1.

1) Torquemada's version differs but slightly from the story as told by Boccaccio, and the greater part of the changes are caused by the fact that Ruggieri is here replaced by an old servant who has grown gray in the service of the king. The actions of such a man are naturally due to other motives than those which would govern the conduct of a young Italian nobleman. Thus :

2) Ruggieri returns to Italy for fear that a longer stay in Spain may prove detrimental to his reputation ; the old servant wishes to go home in order to put to profitable use " vn poco de hazienda que tenia ".

4) Ruggieri deploras the king's neglect because it leaves him without visible testimonial of his worth ; the servant grieves that the king, overlooking him, has rewarded others less needy than he.

Other deviations from the Italian are :

1) The king is not named ; he is simply " vn Rey que huuo en los tiempos antiguos ".

3) The servant that rides the misbehaving mule adds to Ruggieri's exclamation : " que da donde no ha de dar ".

Among the many ill-made Spanish adaptations of Boccaccio's stories, it is a real pleasure to come upon one such version as Torquemada's, where the author, while omitting no essential feature of the original, retells the story with charming ease and conciseness. Especially to be admired is the retentive memory which enabled Torquemada to relate so exactly and appreciatively a story heard in his childhood : for this is, as he himself states at the beginning of his tale, " vna novela que quando muy niño me acuerdo que me contaron ".

Its immediate dependance upon Boccaccio's *novella* is evident.

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 68, note 3.

Timoneda's *El Sobremesa y Alivio de Caminantes*,  
*Parte I, Cuento XLVII*<sup>1</sup>.

1 & 2) Here a king of Castile journeys on horseback followed by a page whom he has neglected in the distribution of his favors.

3) Arrived at the river, the page observing the conduct of the king's horse, says aloud so that his master may hear him : " This horse is like his owner, who always gives to him that has the most ". 4) " Silence " replies the king, " the favors of a king are to be won rather by good fortune than by industry ". " That I do not believe " answers the page.

Upon their return to the palace, the king calls the page to choose between the two chests, filled respectively with gold and lead, (5) but the boy's unfortunate selection is not, in this account, made good by his master.

Although in Timoneda's version as in Torquemada's the neglected dependant is a servant, not a knight, yet his specific mention of a king of Castile would seem to indicate that his *cuento* is not an adaptation of the earlier Spanish form of the *novella* ; though it must be admitted, that to a Spaniard of Timoneda's day, a " king of ancient times " would probably mean a king of Castile.

Moreover, Timoneda was already an old man when the *Colloquios satiricos* were first printed (1553), where the story is hidden away in a mass of moralizing matter in which one would scarcely expect to find a skillfully told tale. Again, since many years elapsed before a second edition of Torquemada's book was demanded, its spread must have been slow from Mondoñedo in Galicia to Timoneda's home in Valencia at the other extreme of Spain.

Then too, had Timoneda's memory been refreshed by reading

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1. Cf. *supra*, p. 133, note 1.

*Revue hispanique* 1905.

the tale in so recent a book, he would hardly have made the bold changes which are not surprising if the *Sobremesa* is looked upon as a collection of stories written down from memory without reference to printed books.

It seems quite probable that Timoneda had heard the story told, and wrote it down as he remembered it, when its outlines had grown dim in his mind.

Melchor de la Cruz, *Floresta Española*,  
*Parte II, N° lxxj, f 55 v°.*

The anecdote in the *Floresta* stops with the episode at the river.

The king here becomes "vn gran señor", and Ruggieri is replaced by a servant, who complains in his lord's absence that his favors are bestowed always upon the rich and never upon the needy. As this "gran señor" one day fords a river upon horseback, his servant makes in his presence the unflattering comparison between his master and the horse he rides.

The imperfect account of the *Floresta* if it goes back to any one definite form of the story<sup>1</sup>, evidently follows Timoneda, as the author make the unjust master the rider of the horse, and has the servant address his comments to the animal in his lord's hearing.

Lope's *El servir con mala estrella*<sup>2</sup>.

*El servir con mala estrella* follows Boccaccio's story almost without deviation; even the name of the hero is Rugero. The few divergences from the original are:

*Act I.* 1) The hero is a Frenchman, Rugero de Valois.

*Act III.* 3) The animal given him by the king is a horse.

The king's emissary is Fernando, a nobleman of the court.

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 131.

2. *Comedias escogidas de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, tomo IV (B. A. E., vol. LII), p. 47.

Rugero knows that his companion is sent by the king, though the purpose of his mission is a secret. The two set out together from Toledo. Upon the journey Fernando makes various efforts to draw his companion into conversation about Alfonso. Rugero carries with him the king's portrait which he unrolls if he is ever tempted to complain of his treatment at the Spanish court: for no comments upon the king's conduct may be made in the royal presence.

The episode at the river is only related to the king as having occurred. To Ruggieri's words as given in the original are added these lines:

“ Bien pareces a tu dueño  
Que das agua á quien la lleva,  
Habiendo en todo el camino  
Pasado arenas tan secas<sup>1</sup> ”.

4) The chest containing the gold and jewels bears inside of the cover the name of Hypolita whom Rugero loves.

The other chest is empty.

5) The king gives Rugero the coffer of valuables as Hypolita's dower.

Lope's additions to the original story are many, but they are not in the main such as to distract the attention from the principal subject. Their purpose is to unfold before us Rugero's character and to emphasize his deserts and the king's ingratitude, by showing him in circumstances that test his devotion to Alfonso.

The first scene of the play represents Rugero's arrival in Toledo, his enthusiasm for things Spanish, his admiration for the king, and his eagerness to serve him. The action as it proceeds shows the Frenchman's loyalty to Alfonso both as a ruler and as a private individual. He fights the Moors abroad and

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1. Cf. *El servir con mala estrella*. Act. III, Sc. xvii (B. A. E., vol. LII).

counsels the king at home ; at his own risk he shields Alfonso in a love-intrigue ; to protect his royal master he comes near losing Hypolita, whom he loves, and the estrangement between himself and her involves him in a duel with Tello, another suitor.

It must be admitted that Lope's hero does not bear the king's neglect with the same patience that is shown by Boccaccio's Ruggieri ; he receives it at first with astonishment and with the confident expectation that Alfonso will reward him in the future. His astonishment grows to impatience and finally becomes genuine anger. When the king presents him with the horse, the polite form of Ruggieri's thanks does not altogether conceal his sarcastic intention.

The second act entire is Lope's and is devoted to depicting Rugero's faithful services.

The most important characters invented by Lope are Turin, Rugero's Squire, Sancha, whom the king loves, and Hypolita beloved by Rugero and Tello, the brother of Sancha.

The language is direct and simple, the action lively, the characters well individualized, consistent and sympathetic. Indeed the play may be called well worthy of its great author.

#### D. X. 4.

The first part of this *novella* is the indirect source of an episode in Matias de los Reyes *Menandro*, and of a *romance* entitled "La amante resucitada". The direct source of both these Spanish forms is Bandello's version of Boccaccio's tale.

The incidents of the original story which concern us, are the following :

1) Gentil Carisendi of Bologna loves the wife of Nicoluccio, without response on her side. 2) She is overcome by an illness that robs her of every sign of life, is thought dead by her husband and relatives and is buried in a neighboring church.

3) Gentil, who during her life has never received any favors from her, on hearing of her death determines to see her once more that he may at last take one kiss from her. 4) Accordingly, with great secrecy and accompanied only by his servant, he enters the church at night, opens the tomb, and lying down beside Nicoluccio's wife, kisses her many times.

As he is about to leave the vault, he lays his hand upon her breast, and is surprised to feel that her heart is beating. 5) Convinced that she is alive, with the help of his servant he carries her to his own home, where his mother receives her, and with hot baths brings her back to consciousness.

6) Gentil keeps her for some time in his mother's house, caring for her with a brother's love, and finally restores her to Nicoluccio.

#### According to Bandello <sup>1</sup> :

1) The scene is laid in Venice where Gerardo and Elena have been secretly married. Gerardo is sent by his father Paolo on business to Baruti, and in his absence Elena's father decides to marry her to Pietro, a rich young nobleman.

2) On the morning set for the wedding Elena holds her breath until she falls into an unconsciousness which has the appearance of death. She is buried at Castello in Patriarcato in a tomb outside the church.

3) Gerardo, returning from his journey, arrives in Venice just as the people are coming back with their torches from Elena's burial. When he learns that it is his wife who has been buried, he determines that he will not outlive her, but going to her tomb will see her once more, and then lie down to die at her side.

4) With one of his companions Gerardo goes to the church of Castello in Patriarcato. Upon seeing his wife, he throws himself upon the body and kisses her. As he refuses to leave the place, without taking her with him, his friend at last consents to help him lift her from the tomb and place her in a barque. But now Gerardo's companion succeeds in persuading him that this action is mere folly and that Elena's body must be returned to its resting place. As Gerardo lifts her in his arms, he discovers that her heart is beating; 5) whereupon the two men carry her to the house of the friend's mother, whose care restores her to consciousness.

6) Within a few days Gerardo tells his story to his father, who comes to see Elena, and is delighted to have her as his daughter-in-law, and says they shall be married on a great feast day which is shortly to occur.

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1. *La seconda parte* || *De le Novelle* || *Del* || *Bandello* || En Lucca || per il Bvsdrago. || M. D. LIIIJ. || n° 41 (Boston Public Library).

During the marriage ceremony Elena is recognized by the young man to whom her father had promised her. He and a friend go to the tomb to see if she is still there, and on finding the grave empty, return to the church, where they create a disturbance which ends in Pietro's challenging Gerardo to a duel. The Ten hear of the occurrence, forbid the duel, and say that the affair must be settled at court. The decision is in Gerardo's favor.

Reyes' *El Menandro*, fol. 48 v<sup>o</sup> 1.

Reyes' story differs from Bandello's only in the following trifling details :

1) The scene is in Florence ; the principal characters are called Camilo, Lucrecia and Laurencio (Pietro).

2 and 3) Camilo is sent on business to Spain by his father, and on his return to Florence, meets Lucrecia's funeral procession in the street. Among other details connected with her death he hears that Lucrecia's father has wished to marry her to Laurencio, and that the day of her death had been the one appointed for her wedding.

Camilo immediately concludes correctly that she has taken poison in order to remain true to him, and resolves not to outlive her. To that end he prepares a small phial of poison which he puts in his pocket. He then persuades two friends (one of them Menandro) to accompany him that night to the church where he wishes to say a last farewell to his wife. His intention is to take the poison in her tomb.

He is about to carry out this resolve when Menandro snatches the phial from his hand.

After many arguments the two friends persuade Camilo that he must leave the vault. 4) As he takes Lucrecia in his arms to bid her farewell, his right hand chances to fall over her heart, which, to his astonishment, is beating. 5) With the aid of his two companions Camilo carries his wife to the house of his friend Laura who restores her with aromatic and refreshing essences.

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1. Cf. *supra*, p. 115, note 1.

Lucrecia stays for some days with Laura and in the meantime Camilo tells his story to his father, (6) who welcomes Lucrecia as his daughter-in-law. He says that the two shall be formally married in a week, and without the knowledge of Fabrizio, Lucrecia's father, who shall be informed of his daughter's return to life only after the ceremony has been performed.

The report of the trouble in the church between Camilo and Laurencio, and the rumor that Lucrecia, by her own avowal, has been for some time Camilo's wife, reaches the ears of Fabrizio, who hurries to the church and into his daughter's arms. With his coming the quarrel between the two young men subsides; each lays his claim to Lucrecia's hand before her father, who decides in favor of Camilo.

*La amante resucitada* <sup>1</sup>.

The *romance*, printed by Milá in the *Romancerillo catalan* and entitled *La amante resucitada*, also follows very closely Bandello's version.

1) The scene is laid in Barcelona. Don Juan and Doña María have plighted their faith to one another, but Doña María's father wishes her to marry a rich merchant of Seville. Don Juan goes to Perpignan in the hope of forgetting his unfortunate passion (2 & 3), but being unable to do so he returns to Barcelona. He finds the curtains of Doña María's house drawn down, and a servant in mourning at the door, who tells him that Doña María has died for love of him.

Three friars now happen to pass, and Don Juan having confessed to them, goes to the church where his love lies buried, intending to die upon her body.

With the aid of the sacristan he lifts the stone from her tomb,

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1. Milá y Fontanals. *Obras completas*, vol. VI. *Observaciones sobre la Poesía popular, con muestras de Romances catalanes inéditos*, pp. 112-113.



and enters the vault, but when he is about to stab himself, the Virgin *del Remedio*, to whom he has prayed night and morning, holds back his hand. 4) Then, Don Juan, looking at Doña María, finds that she is alive.

5) Forthwith they join hands and set out for home. 6) On the way they meet the merchant of Seville who asks Don Juan where he has found the lady at his side, who so greatly resembles his own dead love.

“Your lady she was”, replies Don Juan, “but now she is mine”, and hand in hand the re-united lovers proceed to the “justicia” where they are married.

This *romance*, according to Milá is certainly not anterior to the sixteenth century. He places in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Catalan *romances* which show the influence of the Castilian romances <sup>1</sup>. The *Amante resucitada* is written in Castilian and in the verse form (octosyllables with the even lines upon the same assonance throughout) consecrated to popular ballads in Castile <sup>2</sup>.

#### D. X. 8.

This *novella* is retold by Juan de Timoneda (*El Patrañuelo, Patraña 22*), by Matias de los Reyes (*El Curial del Parnaso, Aviso II*) and by Lope de Vega, who founds upon it his drama *La boda entre dos maridos*.

The story in the *Decameron* is in outline this :

1) A Roman noble, Publio, Quinzio Fulvo sends his son Tito to Athens to study, entrusting him to his old friend Cremete, who has a son, Gisippo, of Tito's age. A great attachment grows up between the two young men.

1. Milá y Fontanals, *Obras Completas*, vol. VI, *Opúsculos literarios*, pp. 81, and 110, note.

2. For *Giorn. X*, 5, cf. *infra*, p. 211.

2) At the end of three years Cremete dies, and Gisippo is advised to comfort himself by taking a wife. He becomes the promised husband of Sophronia, whom Tito sees shortly before the wedding and for whom he conceives such a passion that he falls dangerously ill. Gisippo's urgent questioning finally wins the secret of his illness from Tito, to whom he promises that Sophronia shall be his wife.

3) He advises, however, that this change of plan be kept a secret, for fear of opposition on the part of Sophronia's relatives. In accordance with it, Sophronia is received in Gisippo's house as his bride, but at night Tito takes his friend's place beside her. Protected by the darkness he is not recognized by the girl, who accepts Tito as her husband, thinking that she is becoming the wife of Gisippo.

4) Now Tito's father in Rome, dies, and he is summoned. Sophronia learns how she has been duped, and goes home to her parents angry and in tears, while Gisippo becomes the object of the wrath of his own and of Sophronia's relatives. To put an end to their hostilities, Tito gathers together the offended persons, and, telling them that Sophronia has gained rather than lost by having him for her husband in Gisippo's place, convinces them by reasoning and threats that they will do well to have him for their friend, and to desist in their enmity towards Gisippo. Shortly after this, he leaves for Rome with Sophronia.

5) Municipal troubles soon exile Gisippo from Athens, who, finding himself beggared determines to make his way to Tito at Rome. Arrived there, he is ashamed to present himself to his friend in his wretched garb, and places himself in front of Tito's house, as the latter is leaving it, in the hope that his old companion will know him. But Tito passes him without a sign of recognition and Gisippo thinking this to be an intentional slight 6) wanders off to a cave in the woods, where he falls asleep. Two robbers enter this cave, and a dispute arising between them, one of them is killed, Gisippo, as a means of ending his troubles, allows himself to be arrested for murder, is tried before Marco Varone, the praetor, and condemned to be crucified.

7) Tito, who happens to be present at the trial, recognizes Gisippo, and seeing no other way of saving his old friend's life, accuses himself in his place. The real culprit, however, who is also among those assembled when the sentence is pronounced, moved by such a proof of friendship, gives himself up.

The affair comes to the ears of Ottaviano Cesare, who summons the three men before him, and having heard from them a true account of the events, sets free Gisippo and Tito, and pardons the robber for love of them.

Tito divides his fortune with Gisippo and gives him his sister Fulvia for his wife.

Timoneda's *Patraña* 22<sup>1</sup>.

Timoneda retells the story with the following deviations from the original :

1) The two friends are called Urbino (Tito) and Federico; Federico's father is Guillermo, his intended bride Antonia. The action takes place at Bologna and at Rome.

2) Urbino loves Antonia before any marriage between her and Federico is thought of. He falls ill because he is too timid to make known his affection to Antonia, and grows worse when the marriage between her and his friend is arranged.

The suggestion that Antonia shall be Urbino's wife and not Federico's, comes from Urbino.

3) Urbino takes Federico's place at the ceremony of betrothal, while Federico impersonates Urbino who is supposed to be lying ill in bed. The resemblance between the two friends, and the circumstance that the ceremony occurs at night, prevent any one from finding out the change.

4) On the morning following the betrothal Federico and Urbino call in Guillermo and disclose to him what has happened. They persuade him to undertake the reconciliation of Antonia's parents, who appear to be satisfied with the exchange in sons-in-law.

Urbino's father is notified of his son's betrothal and comes to Bologna for the marriage ceremony, bringing jewels for Antonia. After the wedding he returns to Rome with Urbino and Antonia.

5) Guillermo dies; his creditors, urged on by the enmity of Antonia's parents, which now breaks out, press their claims, and Federico is left without resources. He decides to go to Rome to ask help of Urbino. On the road he is robbed of the little he has with him, and is obliged to beg his way.

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1. B. A. E., vol. III, p. 164.

He asks an alms of Urbino as the latter is leaving his house. Urbino fails to recognize his old friend, and orders his servant to give him a coin.

6) Federico pleads guilty to killing the man found murdered in the cave, but denies having stolen the contents of the jewel-case which the police officers find in the cave beside the murdered man.

7) Urbino speaks to Federico at the trial and makes sure that he is his old friend before he accuses himself.

No name is given to the judge. The real culprit proves his guilt by producing some of the stolen jewels. His life is spared, but he is condemned to perpetual *imprisonment*.

The approbation for printing Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* was granted in 1566. As there is not to my knowledge an earlier reworking in Spanish of Boccaccio's story, I infer that the twenty-second *patraña* is based directly on the *novella* of the *Decameron*.

Timoneda has retold the *novella* in a simple straight forward way. While omitting no features of the original essential to the plot of the tale, by doing away with Tito's long speech to Sofronia's relatives, and by condensing other passages, (such as the conversation between the two friends concerning the cause of Urbino's illness, and their generous dispute at the trial) he has been able to give the story in a very much shortened form.

When Boccaccio wrote the *Decameron* the study of Greek Philosophy was a subject of deep interest in Italy, and his insistence in this *novella* upon its importance doubtless added a charm to the story in the eyes of his contemporaries. Timoneda's readers would have found Tito's long argumentative discourse very tiresome; — the author's wise omission of it shows his understanding of the public for which he wrote.

Lope's *La boda entre dos maridos*<sup>1</sup>.

*La boda entre dos maridos* proceeds directly from Boccaccio's *novella*. It contains all the episodes of the Italian story with the following changes and additions:

The principal figures are called Lauro (Gisippo), Febo (Tito), Aurelio (Cremete), Fabia (Sofronia). The scene is laid in Madrid and in Paris. Several new characters are introduced: Andronio, a suitor of Fabia; Cesarino, his brother; Prudencio and Celia, Fabia's father and sister; Dorena, a sister of Febo living in Paris; and Guido, in love with her; Pinabelo, the *gracioso* of the play, and others of minor importance.

*Act. I. 2)* Fabia and Lauro have secretly loved each other for three years; their fathers discover their attachment, and a marriage between them is arranged.

*Act. II. 3)* On the wedding day Lauro goes away leaving Febo as his proxy. The legal papers, however, which permit Febo to act in his friend's place, are so made out that Febo, not Lauro, is married to Fabia. In the evening Lauro returns to Madrid and pretends to be Fabia's husband. That night, however, he stands in the court and talks to Celia, impersonating Febo with whom she is in love, while under cover of darkness Fabia becomes the wife of Febo. She suspects treachery and rouses the house; but her

1. Doze || *Comedias de Lope de Vega* || *Carpio familiar* || *del santo oficio*. || *Sacadas de los originales*. || *Quarta parte* || *Dirigidas a Don Loys Fernandez de Cordoua, Cardona, Aragon, Duque de Sessa, Duque de Soma, Duque de Valma,* || *Marques de Poza, Conde de Cabra, Conde de Palamos, Conde de Oliuito* || *Vizconde de Yznajar, Señor de las Baronias de Velpuche, Liñola, y Calonga, gran Almirante* || *de Napoles. Año 1614.* || Con licencia del Ordinario || En Barcelona, en casa Sebastian de Cormellas, al Call. || Acosta de Iuan de Bonilla, Mercader de libros. || fol. 152 : *Comedia famosa de la Boda entre dos maridos*.

The copy owned by the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid is imperfect, lacking fol. 154-159, inclusive. The library of the University, Madrid, owns a perfect copy, printed in the same year, in Pamplona, by Nicolas de Assiayn.

suspensions are quieted by the timely disappearance of Febo, and the plausible explanations of Lauro.

*Act. III.* 4) Febo is recalled to Paris by the death of his father ; the truth is made known to Fabia who declares that she is glad to go anywhere in order to be rid of the sight of Lauro, and is easily persuaded not to tell her father and brother what has occurred. The secret leaks out through Pinabelo. Aurelio is arrested and dies from the effect of all his troubles. Fabia's relatives attempt to kill Lauro, but in the struggle he kills Cesarino, brother of Andronio. 5) He is despoiled of all his possessions, and flees to France with Pinabelo. On their way, they are attacked by bandits and robbed of their clothes ; Pinabelo is tied to a tree, but Lauro succeeds in reaching Paris. The first person he sees is Febo talking to the Provost ; Lauro asks an alms of him, but Febo fails to recognize his old friend, and refuses his request.

Meanwhile Andronio has come to Paris and fallen in love with Dorena, thus arousing the jealousy of Guido, who challenges him to a duel. Andronio kills Guido and hides the body in the cave in which 6) Lauro later seeks shelter. He is discovered there by the police, who are in search of the party of bandits by whom he has been robbed. Lauro pleads guilty to the murder of Guido, is arrested and brought before the Provost with whom Febo happens to be at the time. 7) When Febo recognizes Lauro, the latter accuses him of ingratitude. He is however soon persuaded that Febo had not recognized him. — The play proceeds in the same fashion as the *novella* ; the affair comes to the ears of the king who pardons all three, and asks to be a fourth in their friendship. The *comedia* ends with the marriage of Celia and Lauro, and Dorena and Andronio.

Lope's manipulation of Boccaccio's story has added nothing to the interest of the original. On the contrary, the secondary motifs introduced by him, — Celia's love affair, Andronio's jealousy, — entirely conventional and commonplace in themselves, serve

only to retard the action of the play and to confuse the mind, so that the most careful attention is necessary to follow the thread of the original plot.

The new characters brought in lack vividness and individuality; long speeches abound, and the language is stilted and artificial.

Reyes' *El curial del Parnaso*, fol. 7 v°.

*Aviso II. En que se muestra como han de ser los amigos; Pone por exemplo vn caso de dos amigos, en que se verifica esta proposicion* <sup>1</sup>.

Were it not that Boccaccio's *novella* and Reyes' *Aviso* have in common one trait not to be found in the other Spanish versions, internal evidence that Reyes was directly acquainted with this story of the *Decameron* would be wanting. Both Boccaccio and Reyes tell us that the exchange in husbands has been for the girl a distinct gain rather than a loss. This idea is the leading one in Tito's long speech to Sofronia's parents as given by Boccaccio, and Reyes makes Federico's father express the same idea when he says, "... no creeran ligeramente quanto se han mejorado en deuda considerando vuestras partes, Ricardo, y las de vuestros progenitores".

Save in this particular, the details of Reyes' story may be traced either to Timoneda's or to Lope's version, or are variations not to be found either in the original or in the other Spanish forms:

1) The action takes place at Bologna and in the court of Apollo.

2) Ricardo (Tito) and Laura (Sofronia) have a mutual understanding before any marriage is arranged between the latter and Lisardo (Gisippo).

Laura has exacted from her lover a promise to keep their attachment secret.

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 78, note 1.

As in the original and in Lope, Ricardo falls ill with grief at the approaching marriage of Laura and Lisardo. Lisardo grows angry at Ricardo's continued refusals to tell him the cause of his illness, and finally threatens to break off their friendship unless he shall have Ricardo's full confidence.

The suggestion that Laura shall be Ricardo's wife comes from Lisardo (cf. Boccaccio and Lope).

3) Laura's betrothal to Ricardo takes place as in Timoneda's version, except that Reyes makes it occur with her knowledge and consent.

4) This episode is identical with Timoneda's account.

5) Here Lisardo not only loses his money as in Timoneda, but is also robbed of his clothing as in Lope.

6 & 7) Reyes in these incidents follows Timoneda except that Ricardo does not actually recognize Lisardo at the trial, but accuses himself to save one who so greatly resembles his old friend.

Again, the real thief and assassin confesses his guilt only after having stipulated that his life shall be spared. He is not moved by Ricardo and Lisardo's love for one another, but speaks in order that he may not lose his glory as a clever thief.

He produces only one jewel to prove his identity as the murderer, and is condemned not to imprisonment but to perpetual exile.

What finally becomes of Lisardo is not stated (cf. Boccaccio and Timoneda, where the corresponding personage marries his friend's sister and shares his wealth).

The most striking innovation of Reyes' version is that he inverts the two parts of the *novella*; his account begins with the arrest of Lisardo in the cave, while the story of their friendship is told by the two friends to Apollo, judge at Lisardo's trial. This change is well calculated to add interest and lifelikeness to the story, which in this case is represented to be an account of events of recent occurrence.



## D. X, 9.

The *romance of El conde d'Irlos* deals with a theme similar to that of this *novella*.

The essential points of Boccaccio's story are the following:

1) Saladin, Sultan of Babylon, who in the disguise of a merchant has come to Europe to inform himself of the resources of the Christians, is overtaken by night on the road between Milan and Pavia. He and his small escort are sheltered with lavish hospitality in the house of Messer Torello da Pavia, whose wife, Adalieta, upon the departure of her guests, gives each of them several fine garments.

2) Torello some time thereafter joins an expedition to the Holy Land, and upon leaving his wife, whom he dearly loves, commends to her keeping their possessions and their honor, and begs her, unless she should have certain news of his death, not to remarry for a year and a day from the time of his departure. She promises to fulfill this wish, bids him a tearful farewell, and gives him a ring to serve as a remembrance of her, should she die without seeing him again.

3) Torello arrives in Acre, falls into the hands of Saladin and is put into prison in Alexandria. Because of his great skill in training birds, he becomes the Sultan's falconer and is often in Saladin's presence; but neither of them recognizes the other until one day a smiling expression about Torello's mouth, recalls to the Sultan his host of Pavia. To make sure of his identity he has him shown a number of costly garments, among which are those given by Torello's wife to Saladin and his escort. Torello recognizes these, and the Sultan, now sure that his falconer is indeed his former friend, welcomes him with delight and treats him henceforward with the greatest love and liberality.

4) Before this occurrence, Torello has written to his wife to tell her of the vicissitudes of his career; but the ship carrying his letter has been wrecked, and she, supposing herself to be a widow, has, towards the end of the term set by her husband, yielded to the urgent prayers of her relatives, and betrothed herself to a neighbor. When Torello learns from one of the survivors of the wreck the fate of his letter, only a week remains before the wedding ceremony is to take place. He feels sure that his wife must have remarried and falls ill at the thought.

5) Saladin hears of his illness, and on discovering its cause, through the agency of a necromancer has Torello set down at Pavia in the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro on the very day of Adalieta's intended marriage.

6) Torello's appearance in the church causes the Abbot, his uncle, and the other church officials a great fright, but they greet him with delight when he finally convinces them that in spite of his Eastern garb and long beard he is really Torello.

7) He accompanies the abbot to Adalieta's marriage feast, and in the course of it makes himself known to her by sending her in a glass of wine the ring she had given him at parting.

The romance "*El Conde d'Irlos*".

In the romance, the part of Messer Torello is played by the *Conde d'Irlos*, a nephew of Charlemagne. There is nothing to correspond to the visit of Saladin. The poem begins with (2) the departure of the Count for the kingdom of the Moor Aliarde, the Sultan of Persia. He makes over to his wife all his towns and castles, commends her to the care of the Emperor and his twelve peers, and asks her not to remarry for eight years.

He then sets sail, and straightway takes an oath never to return to France, (4) nor to write during his absence to his wife; and he exacts from all his followers a promise to send neither messenger nor letter to France.

The Count is away for fifteen years, and during all this time has neither broken his oath of silence nor once cut his beard. As the sixteenth year is about to begin, he dreams one night of seeing his wife in another man's arms. (5) Forthwith he calls together his men and sets out for France. Instead of going immediately to the court, he returns to his own lands, and there is told that the Countess (4) had been betrothed to Celinos, who by means of forged letters had spread the report of Irlos' death. The Countess had consented to this marriage only at the urgent instance of Oliver, Roland, and the Emperor himself.

Immediately after the betrothal, a falconer from the far East had arrived at the court with the news that the Count was alive; and his wife had thereupon asked for a year's post-

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1. Cf. Durán, *Romancero general*, tomo I (B. A. E., X.), p. 198.

*Revue hispanique*. 1905.

ponement of the marriage so that messengers might be sent to learn the truth about her husband. This interruption of the marriage had started a lawsuit between the partisans of the Count and those of Celinos.

Irlos on hearing this story, proceeds to Paris where he arrives at night (6). He goes immediately to the house of his uncle, Don Beltran, to whom he makes himself known. The Countess, who is in the same house under her uncle's protection, when she first sees the long-haired and long-bearded stranger is frightened by his uncouth appearance. But he reassures her by putting aside his hair and telling her who he is; and she welcomes him with joyful tears.

The quarrel between the two parties contending in the lawsuit, comes near culmination in civil warfare, but a reconciliation is finally effected on condition that Celinos be not allowed to count himself with the twelve peers, nor eat at the round table, nor go into the presence of the Count and Countess.

Durán<sup>1</sup> points out that the construction of this *romance* stamps it as one of those primitive works, which were printed much later than they were composed, and only after having been much altered by oral transmission and by the manipulation of poets. The allusion to fire-arms proves that the present form of the *romance* belongs to a time when the use of artillery was well-known.

Landau asserts that the *Conde d'Irlos* is younger than the *Decameron*<sup>2</sup>, while Milá dates the first edition of the *romance* 1524 or earlier<sup>3</sup>.

The story of a man's long absence from his wife, and his return

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1. *Ut supra*, p. 206.

2. Landau, *l. c.*, p. 203.

3. Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, vol. VII. *De la Poesia heroico popular*, p. 341.

upon the eve of her marriage to another man, is a very old one, and common to many literatures<sup>1</sup>; therefore, since the *Conde d'Irlos* has none of the striking features peculiar to Boccaccio's story, we are not warranted in assuming that the *novella* of the *Decameron* is the source of the *romance*. Indeed, the total difference in the atmosphere and setting of the two tales, as well as their divergence in many particulars — such as the absence of any magical element in the *Conde d'Irlos*, — would rather indicate that the *romance* does not go back to the story of Messer Torello.

It seems safe to accept Milá's conclusion<sup>2</sup> that the first originals of the Spanish Carolingian *romances* were French. He does not, it is true, point out any specific prototype for the *Conde d'Irlos*, but it seems not altogether impossible that diligent search might bring to light the definite source of this ballad.

#### D. X, 10.

The story of *Griselda* was evidently more popular in Spain than any other *novella* of the *Decameron*. It is retold in a fifteenth century document called *Castigos e dotrinas que un sabio daua a sus hijas*; it forms the second *patraña* of Timoneda's *Patrañuelo*, and is the subject of a long anonymous *romance* in three parts. Upon this story also are based Pedro Nauarro's *Comedia muy exemplar de la Marquesa de Saluzia, llamada Griselda*, and Lope's *comedia famosa, El exemplo de casadas y prueba de la paciencia*<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Landau, *l. c.*, pp. 193-218.

2. Milá y Fontanals, *Obras completas*, vol. VII, p. 374.

3. The story of *Griselda* is recorded in Foresti's Latin chronicle *Supplementum chronicorum orbis ab initio mundi*, Venice, 1492 (cf. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, Febler, 1900, vol. II, p. 532, note). This Latin chronicle was translated by Narcis Viñoles and his translation was printed in 1510. The passage of the *Supplementum* was reprinted in the *Revue Hispanique*, tome IX, pp. 333-335. A discussion of the story will be found in the *Appendix*.

It must be noted, however, that all the Spanish versions of the story, — with the possible exception of Lope's *comedia* — are based not upon the *novella* as Boccaccio wrote it, but upon Petrarch's Latin translation of Boccaccio's original. This circumstance may be explained in the first place by the fact that Latin was intelligible to many people who did not understand Italian. Petrarch's Latin version was doubtless known in Spain, before the *Decameron* as a whole had been translated into Spanish. Bernat Metge (end of fourteenth — beginning of fifteenth centuries) in his *Sompni* (early fifteenth century) speaks of having translated Petrarch's rendering into Catalan <sup>1</sup>, saying also that the story of Griselda's patience is so well known as to be commonly told at the fireside on winter evenings. It will be remembered that the Catalan manuscript of the whole *Decameron* is dated 1429; the imperfect Castilian manuscript belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century.

Again, it must be recalled that both the Catalan manuscript and the early Spanish editions of the *Decameron* give a translation of Petrarch's *Griseldis*, not of Boccaccio's Italian *novella*.

The *Griselda* of the *Decameron* runs as follows:

1) Gualtieri, the young marquis of Saluzzo, spent his whole time in hunting and in falconry, and had no thought of marriage : this was displeasing to his subjects, who, anxious that their lord should have an heir, besought him many times to marry, and offered to find him a wife. At last Gualtieri promised that he would do as they wished, on condition, however, that whomever he might choose for his wife, they would obey and honor.

2) For some time he had thought favorably of Griselda, the daughter of a poor laborer, and he now privately asks her in marriage of her father Giannucóle. He announces to his subjects that he has found a wife ; the preparations for the wedding go forward, and on the day set for the marriage, Gualtieri with all his train goes to the village where Griselda lives. As they approach Giannucóle's cottage, the girl, carrying a waterjug, is returning from the fountain, hastening in order that she may go with the other women to see the Marquis' bride. Gualtieri calls her by name, and going with her into the house,

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 7, and *Appendix E*, pp. 211-213.

asks her, in her father's presence, if she is willing to marry him and to promise him obedience in every particular as long as she lives. Griselda replies that she is willing to accept the condition and become his wife.

3) Then Gualtieri leads her out of the house, and before all the courtiers has her take off her old garments and put on the beautiful clothing in readiness for her. And after this he betroths himself to her in the sight of the assembled courtiers.

4) Griselda's beauty and gracious bearing soon win her the love of her husband's subjects. In due time she gives birth to a daughter, to the great joy of Gualtieri. Soon after this, however, he decides to test her submissiveness. He begins by telling her that both she and her little daughter are very unacceptable to the Salucians, and a few days later sends a messenger to Griselda, with orders to take the infant and give its mother to understand that he, the Marquis, had commanded it to be killed. Griselda gives up the child without a murmur, and Gualtieri has it taken to Bologna and placed under the care of a relative, the Count of Panago.

5) After six years a second child is born, — a boy. He is likewise taken from mother within a few days, and sent in secret to Bologna.

6) Twelve years after their marriage, Gualtieri one day tells Griselda that his marriage with her was a hasty, youthful act, and that he is now going to obtain a dispensation from the Pope and take another wife. Pretended letters from Rome are soon produced, granting the desired permission, and the Marquis sends his wife back to her father's house.

7) Now Gualtieri bids Count Panago bring the two children to Saluzzo with great pomp and ceremony, telling every one that the girl is to be the new wife of the Marquis. As no one knows so well as Griselda how to prepare the house for the coming of the bride, Gualtieri sends for his cast-off wife to put all in readiness for the new mistress. Griselda willingly complies, and in her poor garb welcomes her husband's bride.

8) But now Gualtieri feels that Griselda's patience and loyalty have been sufficiently tested. He calls her to him and in the presence of all the company says to her : « What think you of my bride ? » « My Lord », answers Griselda, « she is very beautiful, and I doubt not that you will live with her in great happiness. But I beg of you, do not pierce her heart as you did hat of your former wife, for she is young and frail, and could not bear the pain. »

Gualtieri then tells Griselda that the new bride and her brother are none other than her own children, and explains that he has not meant to treat her with cruelty but only to teach her to be a good wife, to show his subjects how to choose a good mate, and to assure himself of a peaceful existence as long as they should live together.

Griselda, weeping for joy, embraces both the children and is thereupon forthwith reinstated as mistress of the house.

9) Gualtieri now provides for Giannùcole in a manner befitting the father-in-law of a marquis; and then, having made a noble marriage for their daughter, settles down to a long and happy existence with his well-trying wife.

Petrarch's *De obedientia ac fide uxoria* <sup>1</sup>.

Petrarch looked upon his story of Griseldis as a translation of Boccaccio's *novella* <sup>2</sup>. The differences between the two are not essential, and are in the manner of telling, not in the substance of the tale. Thus :

1) Petrarch defines more exactly than Boccaccio the location of the land of the Salucians, which is in Piedmont at the foot of the mountain Vesulus. Gualtherus' subjects appoint a spokesman who in the name of all his vassals begs the marquis to take a wife. Petrarch gives in direct discourse the somewhat long speech of this representative.

2) Griselda's devotion to her father is emphasized, and we are told explicitly of her occupations, such as her pasturing Janicola's sheep, busying herself with the distaff while they graze.

Gualtherus does not ask Griseldis of her father until the day he has set for the wedding, when he comes to claim her at her father's house. Petrarch gives the scene between Gualtherus, Janicola and Griseldis in much greater detail than does Boccaccio. "Io son venuto a sposare la Griselda" says Boccaccio's Gualtieri; and to his question whether she will obey him in all things, Griselda answers simply, yes. According to Petrarch, Gualtherus says: « Scio me Janicola charum tibi teque hominem fidem noui, & quaecumque mihi placeant, uelle te arbitror; unum tamen nominatim nosse uelim: an me quem dominum habes, data mihi hactua in uxorem filia, generum uelis? » And when he asks Griseldis whether she will be his wife and bear with him patiently in all circumstances, the replies: « Ego mihi domine tanto honore me indignam scio; at si uoluntas

1. *Chaucer Society Second Series*, 7, 10, 15, 20, 22. *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*. Edited by F. J. Furnival, Edmund Brock and W. A. Clouston. Published for the Chaucer Society by W. Trübner & Co, London, pp. 153-172.

2. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 151-152. Petrarch's letter to Boccaccio: « Franciscus Petrarca Ioan Boccaccio: Itaque die quodam, inter uarios cogitatibus, animum more sollicito discerpentes, & illis & mihi ut sic dixerim viatus, uale omnibus ad tempus dicto, calamum arripiens; historiam ipsam tuam sum aggressus, te haud dubiè gausurum sperans, ultrò rerum interpretem me tuarum fore. »

tua, sique sors mea est, nil ego unquam sciens, nedum faciam, sed etiam cogitabo, quod contra animum tuum sit, nec tu aliquid facies & si me mori iusseris, quod moleste feram. »

4) Gualtherus finds his wife not less admirable for her intelligence than for her domestic virtues. Petrarch calls attention to her good mental endowment and makes her able to help in governing the state : « Nec uero solers sponsa muliebri tantum haec domestica, sed ubi res posceret, publica etiam obibat officia, uiro absente, lites patriae nobiliumque discordias dirimens, atque componens tam grauibus responsis, tantaque maturitate & iudicij aequitate ut omnes ad salutem publicam demissam coelo foeminam praedicarent. »

5) Four years elapse between the births of Griselda's daughter and son ; and the second child is not taken away from his mother until he is two years old. The kinsman to whom the children are sent is Gualtherus' brother-in-law, the Count of Panico.

Petrarch's effort is to soften the hardness of Gualtherus' character, and to that end he makes Gualtherus carry out his barbarous acts with some semblance of consideration for Griselda's feelings. Thus each time before he has her child taken from her, Petrarch's hero warns his wife that the discontent of his people may drive him to some such step.

6) When he sends Griselda back to her father's house, Petrarch's Gualtherus explains his action as a step necessary to the conciliation of his subjects. As for himself, he professes to have been happy in his marriage with her. Says Boccaccio's hero : "Donna, per concession fattami del Papa, io posso altra donna pigliare e lasciar te ; e per ciò che i miei passati sono stati gran gentili uomini e signori di queste contrade dove i tuoi stati son sempre lavoratori, io intendo che tu piu mia moglie non sia, ma che tu a casa Giannucola te ne torni con la dote che tu mi recasti."

The terms used by Petrarch's Gualtherus are somewhat milder : "Satis (inquit) tuo coniugio delectabar, mores tuos non originem respiciens : nunc quoniam, ut uideo, magna omnis fortuna, seruibus magna est, non mihi licet, quod cuilibet liceret agricolae. Cogunt mei, & Papa consentit, uxorem me alteram habere, iamque uxor in uia est, statimque aderit. Esto igitur forti animo, dansque locum alteri, & dotem tuam referens, in antiquam domum aequae mente reuertere. Nulla homini perpetua sors est."

Griselda replies that she has never considered herself otherwise than a servant in Gualtherus' house and that she will gladly return to end her life in her father's cottage, happy in remembering that she has been the wife of such a man as the marquis. When she leaves the palace she goes accompanied by many weeping men and women.

8) Gualtherus' only explanation of his conduct is that he has wished thereby to test his wife.



Petrarch closes the story by saying that he has not retold it in order to put before the wives of his own day an almost unattainable ideal of patient endurance, but to encourage all men to meet the suffering sent them by God, with a patience equal to Griselda's in bearing the trials laid upon her by her husband.

( *Castigos y Doctrinas que vn Sabio  
daua a sus hijas* <sup>1</sup> .

The manuscript containing this didactic work by an unknown author, belongs, says Knust, to the fifteenth century. This being the case, the *Griselda* of the *Castigos* is the earliest Castilian form of the story known to us, unless we except the version of the early Spanish editions of the *Decameron*, which may possibly be still earlier.

The anonymous "Sabio" tells the story for the edification of his daughters, that they may know the proper attitude of a wife to her husband. He does not set down definitely the source of his tale but begins: "Leese en vn libro de las cosas viejas". Wannenmacher <sup>2</sup> implies that both Boccaccio and Petrarch served

1. *Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas sacadas de manuscritos de la Bib. del Escorial*. [Ed. by German Knust.] Soc. de Biblióf. Esp. tomo XVII, Madrid, 1878, pp. 255-260.

2. Cf. *l. c.*, in note 7 (p. 2) and p. 41.

A comparison between certain passages of Petrarch's Latin tale, and of this Spanish account, will serve to show that Petrarch, and not Boccaccio was the « Sabio's » model :

*Petr.* « Ad haec illa miraculo rei tremens : Ego, mi domine (inquit) tanto honore me indignam scio ; at si voluntas tu, sique sors mea est. . .

« Ego (inquit) mi domine, semper sciui, inter magnitudinem tuam & humilitatem meam nullam esse proportionem neque nunquam tuo, non dicam coniugis, sed seruitio dignam duxi, inque hac domo in qua, tu me dominam fecisti, Deum testor, animo semper ancilla permansi. »

*Castigos* : « La qual con grant verguença le respondio : Sennor, veo que soy yndigna de me casar contigo, pero si es la voluntad de Dios y mi ventura es tal. . .

« Mi sennor, yo siempre toue que entre tu grandeza y mi humilldat no avia ninguna proporcion, ni jamas me senti digna para tu servicio, y tu me feziste digna desta tu casa, aunque á Dios hago testigo que en mi voluntad siempre quedé sierua. »

as models to the "Sabio"; but the anonymous author knows of only one form of the story, and that is indubitably Petrarch's version, — though whether in its original Latin form, or in some careful reworking of it cannot positively be said, — for the account of the *Castigos y Doctrinas* is a faithful condensation of Petrarch's story.

The "Sabio" has made the following omissions :

None of the characters is given a name; Gualtieri is "vn Marqués"; Griselda, "la donzella", and later "la muger del Marqués"; the Count of Panago, "vn Conde".

No mention is made of the Marquis' fondness for such amusements as hunting and falconry, — "wolweislich" says Wannemacher, since the father wishes to impress upon his daughters Gualtieri's admirable qualities.

The long speech of the vassal who in the name of all the Salucians begs Gualtieri to marry, is omitted.

There is no reference to Griselda's return from the fountain with her waterjug; she is already within the cottage when Gualtieri comes to ask her hand. The scene between the Marquis, Giannúcole and Griselda is greatly shortened, and the description of the wedding preparations is left out.

The "Sabio" does not speak of a papal dispensation, of Gualtieri's tardy provision for Giannúcole, nor of the marriage of the Marquis' daughter.

The only positive variations introduced by the anonymous writer are these : he calls the Marquis "muy sabio y discreto", and makes Griselda's father not a poor laborer, but a "caallero pobre".

What was the book in which the "Sabio" read the story of Griselda? His reference to it as a "libro de las cosas viejas" would seem almost to imply that it was some chronicle, some book of annals. A close comparative study of the story as told in the *Castigos y Doctrinas*, and of the version given in the early Spanish

editions of the *Decameron*, leads to the question whether there is any relation between them; whether their common origin in Petrarch's Latin story is sufficient to account for their nearly verbal agreement in certain passages<sup>1</sup>. Could the "Sabio's" story be a shortened form of the *Griselda* of the Spanish *Decameron*?

Knust places the manuscript of the *Castigos y Doctrinas* in the fifteenth century, and it is known that the *Decameron* was translated into Castilian not later than the middle of that century. It is

1. *Seville 1496*

« mando que tomasse la niña y . . . la leuasse a bolonia la grassa a su hermana que era casada con el conde de panique a la qual la niña fue dada y entregada y ella la crio z acostumbro en todo bien z sciencia como si fuera su hija. »

« . . . entonces griseldis muy humildemente respondió z dixo, señor yo siempre supe z conocí que entre vuestra magnificencia z mi humildad z pobreza no ay ninguna comparación, z no digo para ser vuestra muger, que bien conozco no ser dina que yos me quisiessedes por sierua, y en esta vuestra casa en la qual vos me hezistes señora, siempre por sierua metuue z llamo á Dios por testigo que todo bien lo sabe, z de tiempo que estuue con vos con mucha honrra z sin ningun merescimiento mio, a dios y a vos doy muchas gracias, delas otras cosas presta y aparejada de tornar de buen coraçon z de buena voluntad a casa de mi padre z alli donde en mi niñez fuy criada, fenescer alli mi vejez . . . »

*Castigos.*

« enbio . . . su hija a Bolonna á vna su hermana que era casada con vn conde dende a la qual enbió rogar que la criase y acostumbrase como á su hija. »

« á la qual ella rrespondió : Mi sennor yo siempre toue que entre tu grandeza z mi humilldat no avia ninguna proporcion, ni jamas me sentí digna para tu seruicio y tu me feziste digna desta tu casa avnque a Dios hago testigo que en mi voluntad siempre quedé sierua y deste tiempo que en tanta honrra contigo estoue sin mis merescimientos do gracias á Dios y á tí. El tiempo por venir aparejada estoy con buena voluntad de pasar por lo que me viniere y tu mandares. Y tornarme he á la casa de mi padre á hazer mi vejez y muerte donde me crié y hize mi ninnez . . . »

therefore not beyond the bounds of possibility that the "Sabio" knew the Spanish form of Boccaccio's book; and when we consider the many references in the *Decameron* to historical events <sup>1</sup>, and the many stories told as having occurred in times already long past <sup>2</sup>, to say nothing of the impressive description of the plague which desolated Florence about a century before the "Sabio" wrote, we can see that a "libro de las cosas viejas" would hardly be a misnomer for the *Decameron*.

Timoneda's *Patraña* 2 <sup>3</sup>.

Timoneda tells Petrarch's story with the following changes:

1) The town of Salucia is not named; the scene is laid rather indefinitely "en los confines de Ytalia hacia el poniente"; the Marquis is called Valtero, and Griselda Griselida. Her father is a rich owner of flocks.

Valtero's subjects make no offer to find a wife for him.

2) The Marquis on his hunting expeditions has often received the hospitality of Janicola's house, and has been waited upon with much discreteness by Griselida, who, when she hears that Valtero is to be married, asks her father to take her to the city that she may see the bride and at the same time ask from the Marquis some reward for her services. Janicola consents but as they are about starting for the city they meet the Marquis who accompanied by six of his nobles is coming to ask Griselida's hand.

The Marquis, Janicola and Griselida go into Janicola's cottage, and when Griselida has promised to become Valtero's obedient wife (3) he leads her out and presents her to the six noblemen, who fall on their knees and kiss her hand. After this ceremony,

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1. Cf. the beginnings of *Giorn.* 1, 1, 5, 9; 2, 6, 8; 3, 2; 5, 7; 10, 6, 7, 8, 9.

2. Cf. the beginnings of *Giorn.* 1, 8; 2, 7; 4, 8; 5, 1, 4; 6, 9; 10, 1, 7, 8.

3. B.A.E., vol. III, p. 131.

the Marquis has one of the noblemen take her in secret to his palace, where she is dressed in the magnificent clothes prepared for her.

He himself now returns to the palace and being asked by the courtiers where his bride is, fetches her from her apartment. The two are then married by a distinguished bishop in the presence of the assembled knights and ladies.

4) Griselida's first child is two months old when the Marquis decides to test his wife's patience. He commands the nurse, in whom he has great confidence, to take away Griselida's baby during the night and to put in its place beside the Marchioness a dead child from the foundlings' home. This is done, and Griselida awakes to find beside her a dead baby which she supposes to be her own. Her lamentations bring in the Marquis who commands that the child be buried with the pomp befitting his daughter. His own infant he sends by his servant Lucio, to his friend the Count of Bononia.

Within a few days the Marquis visits his wife and tells her that since the death of the child his subjects have seemed displeased with his marriage. [6] Therefore to keep peace, it will be best for her to return to her father's house. Griselida is so perfectly willing to carry out her husband's wish, that he, moved to pity, tells her that he will not make a final decision until he sees whether his vassals renew their complaints.

5) Twelve years pass before the birth of the second child. After two years more the Marquis determines to renew his tests of Griselida's wifely submission. With this end in view he arranges a hunting party, which is to include the whole household, to take place in the wood near Janicola's cottage. He orders the trusly Lucio to steal the child sometime during the day, and to take it to the Count of Bononia.

After the luncheon, which is served in the open air, the Marchioness falls asleep under a tree, leaving the child at play beside her. Lucio takes this opportunity to make away with the infant.

When Griselida awakes and finds the baby gone, she supposes that wild beasts have devoured it, and cries aloud in her grief. The party returns in great melancholy to the palace.

In a few days Valtero comes to his wife and says: "My subjects are very angry with you, because the two heirs to the marquisate have been lost through your fault. They wish me to marry the Count of Bononia's daughter. As I cannot remarry while you are alive they wish me to have you secretly killed; but my heart cannot consent to this measure". "Sire", answers Griselida, "I shall be very glad to die, if thereby you will be benefitted."

[6] The Marquis devises a subterfuge by means of which her life may be spared, and yet the vassals be satisfied. "Our faithful nurse", he says, "is ill unto death. You and you only, shall tend her; if she dies, she shall be brought to your chamber, and you shall occupy her bed. Then I will give out that I have found the Marchioness dead at my side". This plan is carried out and the nurse is buried with great honors. Griselida continuing to impersonate the nurse, lives on in the palace, and is, in secret, still the wife of the Marquis.

One night Valtero tells her that he, considering himself a widower, has promised to marry the daughter of the Count of Bononia, and therefore, that even the secret relation to each other must end.

Griselida receives this news with her usual patience, and wishes him joy of his new bride.

7) Now Lucio is sent to Bononia to fetch Valtero's daughter and her brother; but the Count himself brings the children to their father, with a noble escort. Griselida receives them in her servant's garb, her lovely conduct causing them all to marvel.

9) As Janicola is not a poor man, he does not stand in need of charity; the Marquis is therefore not made to provide for his father-in-law, as in Petrarch.

No mention is made of the marriage of Valtero's daughter,

and the admonition to bear our trials patiently is likewise omitted.

As may be seen, Timoneda's version is in many respects very different from Petrarch's tale. The divergences do not seem to be due to the author's imperfect recollection of the story, for many passages of the *patraña* recall Petrarch's very words <sup>1</sup>. They seem rather to be the result of a deliberate attempt to make the hero less exclusively a brute. Thus, granted that Griselda believes herself responsible for the death of her children, her husband's displeasure is not incomprehensible to her.

Again, Valtero never really casts her off. She remains his wife in fact, although he compells her to assume the rôle and garb of a servant.

These changes in Valtero can hardly be called happy; they are inconsistent with the spirit of the story. A man who, as a mere caprice, torments his wife for more than a dozen years, would probably not trouble himself to think of mild ways of inflicting the suffering. Moreover, the more unreasonable, the harsher, the husband is represented to be, the more will Griselda's virtues shine out by contrast.

As a matter of style also, these variations of Timoneda's are

1. *Petrarch*

« Nec vero solers sponsa muliebra tantum haec domestica, sed ubi res posceret, publica etiam obibat officia uiro absente, lites patriae nobiliumque (*sic*) discordias dirimens atque componens tam grauibus responsis tantaque maturitate et indicij aequitate, ut omnes ad salutem publicam demissam cœlo fœminam praedicarent. »

*Timoneda*

« y no penseis que esta tan noble señora entendiese solamente en los ejercicios de dentro de su propia casa, sino que donde se ofrecian generales y públicos casos. Estando el marques ausente, atajaba y declaraba los pleitos, apaciguaba las discordias, y todo esto con mucha prudencia y recto juicio que todos a una voz decian que Dios les habia dado tal señora. »

a mistake, for they complicate and hinder the smooth action of the original story. The language, as is usual with Timoneda, is simple and direct.

Nauarro's *Comedia muy exemplar de la Marquesa de Saluzia, llamada Griselda* <sup>1</sup>.

The author of this *comedia* <sup>2</sup> clearly indicates his sources. In the prologue (lines 46-49), he says that the same story may be read in the *Suplemento* and in the *Patrañuelo*. In general Nauarro follows the chronicle, not Timoneda.

The prologue tells in a few words the story of Griselda as far as her marriage with the marquis : Galtero, Marquis of Saluzia, is urged by his vassals to take a wife, and he, after exacting from them a promise to obey whomever he may choose, marries Griselda (cf. Timoneda).

Nauarro introduces the characters of Galisteo, Galtero's steward, Lisendo, a page, Urbina (set down on the title-page as *dama*, but within the play as *ama*); the Marquis' guard, and three allegorical figures, Consuelo, Desesperacion and Sufrimiento. Griselda's daughter is named Fortuniana.

The Spanish playwright treats his material with considerable independence.

*Jornada I.*

The opening scene shows Griselda bidding goodbye to her

1. *Comedia muy exemplar de la Marquesa de Saluzia, llamada Griselda*. *Compuesta por el unico Poeta y Representante de Nauarro*. Impresa con licencia, Año 1603. Reprinted by me in the *Revue Hispanique*, IX, pp. 331-354, from the copy in the Bib. Nac. at Madrid, — the only one known to exist.

2. The *Comedia muy exemplar*, etc. was first discovered by Menéndez y Pelayo, and is described by him in his *Estudio preliminar to Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, vol. 2 (*Libros de Antaño*, X), 1900, pp. LXXXI-LXXXII, note.

He attributes it to Pedro Navarro, concerning whom see Barrera, *l. c.*, p. 284.



father and taking her sheep to pasture. Galtero, who has gone hunting, finds Griselda watching her flocks, and tells her that her many virtues have aroused his affection. He has at first some difficulty in convincing her that he is not making fun of her. Just as the Marquis has suggested that they go to find Janicola, so that he may ask him for Griselda's hand, her father appears upon the scene. Galtero makes his request, requiring however from Griselda the familiar pledge of obedience in all things.

*Jornada II.*

When the second act opens, Galtero and Griselda have been married some time. Galtero is very happy and praises his wife's virtues to Galisteo, who, though he admits her fine qualities, says that the Marquis has made a mistake in marrying so far beneath him. Their conversation is interrupted by Lisendo, who comes in with the news that Griselda has borne a beautiful daughter. Galisteo warns his lord that this will make trouble in the marquisate, for the people will be angry both because the child is a girl, and because she comes of such lowly blood. Galtero determines at the same time to test his wife's patience, and, by showing forth her virtues to his vassals, secure their approval of marriage.

With this double purpose he orders Galisteo to take the child from its mother and tell Griselda that the Marquis has commanded him to kill it.

*Jornada III.*

Galisteo carries out these instructions and shows Griselda a bleeding heart as evidence that the child is dead.

*Jornada IV.*

Ten years have elapsed between this and the preceding *Jornada*. Galtero announces to Griselda that his vassals wish him to put her away and marry the daughter of the king of Hungary. He requests her to lay aside immediately her fine robes and to put on her shepherdess' gown. Nothing is said of her return to her father's house. She meekly acquiesces, but asks him to treat his

second wife more kindly than he has treated her. Then she begs that she may be allowed to stay in the palace as a servant. The Marquis consents to this, and bids her receive his new bride with due courtesy. The *jornada* ends with the arrival of Fortuniana.

*Jornada V.*

Griselda receives her daughter as the Marquis' bride and her own mistress. She is about to kiss the new-comer's feet, when Galtero interferes, likens Griselda to Dido, Penelope, Penthesilea and Lucretia, says that she alone is his wife and gives her the reasons for his cruel behavior towards her.

Navarro's Galtero is a milder character than any of the previous narrators have represented him. The author lays much emphasis on the husband's love for his wife, and the presentation of the Salucians as really discontented with their lord's marriage is evidently intended to give some reasonable motive for the Marquis' treatment of her.

Griselda, too, under Navarro's pen, has taken on a somewhat different character. The author makes an attempt at psychological analysis, and tries to show the workings of Griselda's mind. He makes her a more reasoning creature than the earlier Griseldas. Meek and submissive she is, but she does utter a first faint protest when her child is taken from her, asking what the little thing has done.

The allegorical figures are intended to show Griselda's mental state. After the bleeding heart has been shown to her, *Consuelo* appears, and recalling to the Marchioness the stories of other women, unhappier even than she, bids her endure.

Griselda's struggles for self-control are pictured in the strife between *Desesperacion* and *Sufrimiento*, the former urging her to end her troubles by a voluntary death, and the latter encouraging her to have patience. *Sufrimiento* finally carries off the victory (*Jornada IV*).

The Marchioness' observations to her maid show her to have learned that wealth and worldly position sometimes bring more sorrow than happiness.

Among the other characters of the play, the steward Galisteo is the only one with a distinct personality. He is a hard man, and even though Galtero convinces him of Griselda's worth, he cannot but feel that his lord's marriage is unwise. Griselda's courageous behavior when he takes her infant from her, is what first inclines him to look upon her with approval.

Nauarro has been wise in his selection of the episodes of his *comedia*, and has not lacked skill in weaving them together. The omission of any reference to a second child is a happy device; Griselda's submissiveness is sufficiently proven by her patience in bearing her first child's removal; a repetition of the incident is unnecessary.

The little play has perhaps no literary importance, and its lack of action would prevent its successful representation on the stage. Nevertheless, its unpretentiousness and spontaneity make it pleasant reading.

*Romances* 1273, 1274 and 1275 of Durán's *Romancero General* <sup>1</sup>.

In *Romances* 1273, 1274, 1275, the story of Griselda is told by an anonymous author. The first poem ends with the marriage of Griselda and Gualtero; the second with Griselda's return to her father's house, and the third with her restitution to the rank of Marchioness.

The anonymous author follows Petrarch closely, though diverging from him in the following particulars.

*Griselda y Gualtero. — I.*

1) The Marquis Gualtero is "dueño de muchos lugares" but

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1. Durán, *Romancero general*, II (B.A.E., vol. XVI).

no definite name is given to his Marquisate. Griselda's father is called Janículo.

The spokesman for Gualtero's subjects does not suggest their finding a wife for their lord.

2) When Gualtero arrives at Janículo's cottage he goes in to see the old man as in Boccaccio, instead of bidding him come out, as Petrarch has it. The rest of the scene, however, more resembles Petrarch's account than Boccaccio's. The Marquis reminds Janículo that he is his vassal, and tells him that he, Gualtero, intends to marry Griselda if there is no objection on his part. He then bids Janículo call his daughter and the well-known questions are put to her. Griselda at first thinks the Marquis is jesting with her, but being convinced that he really wishes to marry her, she promises to be constant to him even to death.

Bull-fights, *comedias* and mock tourneys are among the festivities which celebrate the Marquis' wedding.

*Griselda y Gualtero. — II.*

4) The first child is born two years after the marriage, and two more years elapse before Gualtero decides to begin his experiment. Then he one day enters Griselda's room and tells her that the child must be removed from the palace forthwith. The messenger who is sent for the child is not instructed to say that he has been ordered to kill it; therefore Griselda's prayer that it may be saved from wild beasts does not occur here.

5) The second child is born "quando fué Dios servido"; the definite time at which it is taken from Griselda is not given, but Gualtero again tells his wife that it must leave the palace instantly.

The Marquis sometimes mentions the children to see if Griselda will not show some emotion; but she betrays none.

6) A rumor now arises that the Marquis because of his dis-

satisfaction with his marriage, has hidden his children; and soon it is reported that he has applied to the Pope for a dispensation. (The Marquis himself is not mentioned as the source of the rumor, as in Petrarch.)

It is not stated how many years after the marriage these events occur.

*Griselda y Gualtero. — III.*

As she goes back to her own home Griselda begs those who accompany her not to weep; she says she does not mourn her lost grandeur, but only the separation from her dear husband. She explains to her father why she has left the palace, and assures him that she returns to her old home with joy.

7) Gualtero asks of Griselda only that she arrange the tables for his guests.

8) While the company is at table, he requests that all keep their seats, as he has certain questions to ask.

Griselda's prayer that Gualtero be more gentle with his second wife than he had been with his first, is omitted. She hopes that the king will permit the Marquis to enjoy his new wife in peace, and that their felicity may continue in Heaven.

Gualtero publicly asks Griselda's pardon for his cruelty to her.

9) The *romance* ends by saying that Griselda's parents were brought to the palace, where great feasts were held in her honor.

Griselda is held up as a model for all women to follow. The author does not wish to be interpreted as commending Gualtero's methods, but as woman was formed from the ribs of man, she was evidently intended not to be the head in marriage, but only an amiable companion. However, since the material from which she was made came from near man's heart, the union between man and wife should be very close.

Durán classes these three *romances* among the *Romances vulgares*

*novelescos*, which, he says, began to be circulated towards the middle of the seventeenth century <sup>1</sup>.

Both the language and the spirit of the *Griselda romances* show that they cannot be very old; for the words and the phrasing are modern, and the poems entirely lack the simplicity of thought that marks the older popular ballads.

The reversion to Boccaccio in episode 2, I can account for only by the supposition that the Italian form of the story was known to the author. The agreement in this passage between Boccaccio's words and those of the *Romance*, seems almost too exact to be the result of mere chance.

*Boc. D. II, 365, l. 47.*

la quale como Gualtieri vide, chiamatala per nome, cioè Griselda, domandò dove il padre fosse; al quale ella vergognosamente rispose: Signor mio, egli è in casa. Allora Gualtieri, smontato, e comandato ad ogn'uomo che l'aspettasse solo se n'entrò nella povera casa, dove trovò il padre di lei che aveva nome Giannùcole, E dissegli:

*Romance 1275, l. 139.*

... por su nombre  
Llamándola, así le habla:  
Griselda, ¿do está tu padre?  
Y Griselda con voz baja  
Le responde: — Señor mío,  
Mi padre está dentro en casa. —  
Apeóse el caballero  
Y dijo a los que llevaba  
Que un poco se detuviesen,  
Que saldría sin tardanza.  
Entróse solo allí dentro;  
Con el padre se encontraba  
De Griselda, y le saluda  
Y de esta suerte le habla: » —

Lope's *El exemplo de casadas y prueba de la paciencia* <sup>2</sup>.

All the essential features of the *Griselda* story reappear in the *Exemplo de casadas*, though Lope's play varies in some particulars from the story as given by Boccaccio or Petrarch. He has changed the names of the principal actors and has transferred the

1. Duran, *Romancero general*, I (B.A.E., vol. X), p. xxxi.

2. Cf. *supra*, p. 25, note 2.

scene from Saluzia to Ruysellon. He has also brought in many new characters.

In the *comedia* Gualtieri becomes Enrico de Moncada, Count of Ruysellon; Griselda Laurencia, and her father, Lauro. Griselda's children are called Rosimunda and Don Ramon de Moncada.

The most important personages invented by Lope are Tibaldo, valet of Count Enrico, Celio, another servant of the Count, Fenisa, Laurencia's companion and later her servant; and the Prince of Biarne. Besides these there are numerous minor characters; gentlemen, ladies and country people.

#### *Act I.*

The play opens with Enrico in conversation with three of his subjects, who beg of him to marry. He expresses his great dislike to marriage, but promises that he will consider the matter. He tells his vassals that in his wife he shall look not for high birth, but only for virtue, and assures them that he will so test her character as to put her goodness beyond suspicion.

In the afternoon of the same day Enrico goes hunting and meets with Laurencia and her companions, who do not know that he is the Count. He enters into conversation with Laurencia and tells her that he is in Count Enrico's service. She questions him about Enrico, says that the Count should marry and tells the supposed courtier in what way his master should set about choosing a wife. The Count is so struck with her good sense as well as with her beauty, that upon leaving her he goes directly to her father and asks her in marriage. Lauro is willing to give her to him, but says that the final decision must be left to his daughter. Laurencia and her companions now come upon the scene again. Lauro tells Laurencia of the nobleman's propositions and his conditional acceptance of it. She blames her father for being willing to give her to a man whom he knows so slightly. At this point the Count's courtiers enter and address him as

Count. Lauro and Laurencia fall on their knees before him; Enrico raises them from the ground and addressing Laurencia as his wife, bids his vassals accept her as their lady.

The Count does not exact any promise of obedience from her, though in the third act she refers to the submissiveness promised by her at the time of her marriage to Enrico.

*Act II.*

Two years have elapsed; the marriage has taken place and both children have been born. The Count determines to see whether the humility of spirit shown by Laurencia is genuine. To this end he sends Tibaldo to take away her daughter and orders his valet to tell Laurencia that the Count has ordered the child to be killed to appease his subjects who are displeased with his lowly marriage. The Count from a hiding — place watches the scene between Laurencia and Tibaldo.

We learn later that the child is brought up somewhere near the borders of France.

Laurencia's former companions now appear. They have come to congratulate Laurencia upon the birth of the second child whose baptismal day it is. In the midst of a song expressing their good wishes for the child, the Count enters and roughly drives them out. Then he tells his wife that his nobles, angry because the heir to his estates is of such humble blood, are coming to take him away. The child must either be hidden or killed. Laurencia has him brought in to her husband, who sends him by Celio to one Eradiano at Bologna.

The children have scarcely been removed when the Count informs his wife that his subjects, still unsatisfied, wish him to have her killed. They will, however, be content with a mere separation from her. She must return to her father's house. Laurencia is quite willing to do so, but asks to be allowed to take with her the dowry she brought her husband, that is, she explains, the clothes which she wore when she first came to the



palace. This the Count grants, but he refuses her second request : to embrace him before she goes. She is sent back to Lauro accompanied by Celio and another servant.

*Act III.*

Lauro is indignant at the treatment his daughter has received ; her old companions are delighted to welcome her, but these evidences of sympathy do not assuage her sorrow at the loss of her children.

The Count, urged by his subjects to obtain a dispensation from the Pope and remarry, says that in a certain time of peril he made a vow to go to fight for the Holy Sepulchre and now intends to join the crusade headed by Richard I of England and Alphonso VIII of Castile. Assuring his subjects that he leaves them an heir already several years old, he sets out accompanied by Tibaldo.

After five years he returns and sends Tibaldo to tell Laurencia that the king of France has promised Enrico his daughter Rosimunda for his wife ; so the Count now wishes Laurencia to put the house in order for the bride and to see that the feast is fitly spread.

At the same time Gofredo, the widowed prince of Biarne, hearing of Laurencia's many virtues, seeks her in marriage ; but she prefers to serve the Count to being Princess of Biarne.

As she is occupied in the most menial labors about Enrico's house, the Count comes in and wonders at her marvelous goodness, but pretends not to recognize her. Laurencia throws herself at his feet, and tells him that she is his former wife. As he goes out, she wishes him joy of his new bride.

Upon the arrival of Rosimunda and Don Ramon de Moncada, her brother, Enrico offers Rosimunda his estates as though she were indeed to be his wife. He then calls Laurencia and asks her if she wishes to protest against this marriage. She replies that she does not. Hereupon Enrico tells Laurencia that the newcomers are her own children, and embraces her as his wife.

No further mention is made of Lauro, nor is there any allusion to the marriage of Rosimunda.

The *Exemplo de casadas* offers no means of determining definitely whether Lope knew both Boccaccio's and Petrarch's *Griselda*, or whether he was indebted to one of these two forms to the exclusion of the other. Passages in which the Latin and Italian versions diverge have either been omitted, or have, in the *comedia*, a different form from that given either by Boccaccio or Petrarch. Thus, the scene in Giannúcole's cottage, in the description of which Boccaccio and Petrarch differ not a little, is replaced by the meeting between the Count and the shepherdess in a wood, which recalls the corresponding scene in Navarro's *comedia*.

It is true that Lope, like Petrarch, makes the vassals wish that their lord should marry, take the form of a direct request; but this likeness between Lope and Petrarch would seem but a slight foundation upon which to base an argument that Lope followed Petrarch. For the conversation between lord and vassals given by Lope need be looked upon only as a natural dramatic expansion of the scene described by Boccaccio.

Aside from the similarity already mentioned between Lope's play and Navarro's, and the fact that like Navarro's, Lope's *comedia* has a decidedly pastoral flavor, the *Exemplo de casadas* is in several passages reminiscent of the *Comedia muy exemplar de la marquesa de Saluzia*, etc.

a) In both, the heroine refers to herself as having been brought up without a mother :

*Navarro*. Jorn. 1<sup>ra</sup>. fol. 3 v.  
« que yo hare lo que deuo  
.....  
Y aunque criada sin madre  
la bondad sera mi ceuo ».

*Lope*. Acto 1<sup>ro</sup>. fol. 11 1<sup>ro</sup>, col. a.  
« pues a un hombre...  
que no vistes jamas days vuestra hija,  
criada tan sin madre... »

b) Laurencia's laments over her son are not unlike those uttered by Griselda when she gives up her daughter :

*Navarro*. Jorn. 4<sup>ta</sup> fol. 14 v<sup>o</sup>.  
Hija a quien tu fuyste homicida  
que a penas estas nacida,  
y en naciendo delinquente,  
tu mueres hija inocente,  
yo uiuiré triste vida.

fol. 14 r<sup>o</sup>.  
y ¿ que a hecho esta criatura?  
*Gali*.  
Por ser de prosapia oscura  
y de pastoril linage

*Lope*. Acto 2<sup>o</sup> fol. 16 v<sup>o</sup>, col. a.  
hijo, porque naciste tan aprisa  
para poner mi vida en contingencia  
parece que de un parto y de una suerte  
nacieron vuestra vida y vuestra muerte.

Hijo ¿ quereys saber vuestro delito?  
sabed que os matan porque fuystes nieto  
de la humildad de un viejo a quien imito...

c) The reflections of the two personages upon the contrast between the cares of high worldly position and the peace of a humble existence bear a certain resemblance to each other :

*Navarro*. Jorn. 4<sup>ta</sup>. fol. 19. r<sup>o</sup>.  
« El mundo con sus engaños  
me leuanto de cimientto  
pues he vivido diez años  
puesta en áspero tormento  
para muy mayores daños;  
mas quisiera el ornamento  
y no me fuera tormento  
de mi çamarra y çurron  
que no ver tan gran passion  
y mi hija en perdimiento. »

*Lope*. Acto 2<sup>do</sup>. fol. 13 v<sup>o</sup>. col. a.  
« palacios ricos ¿ donde está el contento ?  
está en vuestros tesoros y riquezas,  
o en la seguridad del pensamiento.  
O quan seguro estado es la pobreza  
pues no puede temer que humille el viento  
su miserable estado a mas bajeza. »

d) Compare also in the *comedias* these words of the heroine to her faithful servant as mistress and maid prepare the palace for the new bride :

*Navarro*. Jorn. 4<sup>ta</sup>. fol. 21 r<sup>o</sup>.  
Ama, y en amor hermana,  
barred essas losas duras.

*Lope*. Acto 3<sup>o</sup>. fol. 23 v<sup>o</sup> col. b.  
(Entre Laurencia con una escoba)  
Haz Fenisa que essa sala  
se limpie y ponga muy bien.

These points of similarity between the two plays would indicate Lope's familiarity with Navarro's work; and indeed it is in any case more than probable that Lope knew the *Comedia*

*muy exemplar de la Marquesa de Saluzia* since both the plays and the acting of Navarro were unquestionably very generally known in Lope's time.

Lope's conception of the husband differs from both Boccaccio's and Petrarch's. Count Enrico is rougher and more brutal than any of his prototypes and he seems to torment his wife not only on a large scale but also in small and contemptible ways. He harshly drives away Laurencia's old-time companions; he forbids his servants to address her as Countess, refuses her request to give him a farewell embrace and pretends not to recognize her when he sees her in servant's clothes.

Lope's Laurencia lacks something of the fortitude of the original Griselda, and approaches in certain ways Navarro's heroine (cf. *supra*). She cannot conceal from her old friends her sadness at the loss of her daughter, and her farewell to her son is much less stoical than are the brief words of Boccaccio's Griselda. She does not hide from her father the sorrow caused her by her husband's cruel behavior, and she makes bold to say that she does not wish to seek revenge for her wrongs. The mere idea of revenge surely never suggested itself to the mind of Boccaccio's heroine.

Laurencia betrays a certain independence of spirit, of which there is no trace in any other Spanish conception of the character. She ventures a mild criticism of her husband's impatience when he drives away her humble friends, reminding him that their presence in the palace had never before offended him. She also dares to recall to his memory that, though she is of lowly origin, his vassals a thousand times have commended his choice of a wife.

A tinge of bitterness is perceptible in Laurencia's words when, towards the end of the play, she sees Tibaldo approaching. She immediately expects further sorrows and asks :

« ¿ Ay mas prueuas de paciencia ?

¿ Ay nueua persecucion ? »

fol. 22 vº, col. a.

Lauro is a more independent and self-esteeming person than Giannúcole. He has a decent pride in his small possessions and prefers living in his own cottage to being removed to the palace. When Laurencia is sent back to him he feels very indignant towards his son-in-law, and does not hesitate to express his disapproval of Enrico's conduct.

It is difficult to understand why Lope with his keen dramatic instinct did not feel that the story of Griselda was but an indifferent subject for a play. The story offers little opportunity for action and the characters are not such as to lend themselves well to forceful dramatic development unless treated as a series of psychological episodes; — an extension of the dramatic form entirely foreign to the Spanish temper at this time. The marquis, capricious and unreasoning, lacks the continuity in one line of action necessary for the gradual and satisfactory development of a consistent character, while Griselda is a figure too self-effacing to present many dramatic possibilities.

Lope has not been happy in his additions to the original theme. Much space is devoted to conversations between the country-people among whom Laurencia has grown up, and whose principal diversion seems to consist in setting one another uninteresting conundrums.

Long speeches are of frequent occurrence and there is an excessive use of classical and historical allusions, often quite unsuited to the speakers who use them, such as a reference by Lauro to Diogenes and Alexander. — Indeed the *Exemplo de casadas* is not a play that in any measure adds to Lope's fame.

The text in which we know the *comedia* is exceedingly corrupt, and in some instances, even becomes unintelligible.

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The detailed comparison with their originals of the Spanish reworkings of Boccaccio's *novelle*, shows how little imagination

the majority of the Spanish writers brought to their task of adaptation. The tales of the *Decameron* did not merely furnish suggestions to the story writers of Spain; they supplied them with plot, development, and vocabulary, — in short, with the story complete.

Even Lope, to whom we might have looked for a more subtle use of his borrowed material, though he makes some additions to the stories, leaves out little or nothing, and as a rule, attempts few changes even in details, in what he retains.

Such a thorough-going appropriation of Boccaccio's tales may perhaps be looked upon as another acknowledgement of their perfection, since even the great Spanish writers who made use of them, seeing, it may be, that any change must impair rather than improve them, ventured to alter them so slightly.

LIST OF AUTHORS AND TITLES OF THE SPANISH  
REWORKINGS.

AUTHOR	TITLE	LITERARY FORM	ANALOGUE IN <i>DECAME- RON</i>
Anonymous. . . . .	<i>La Amante resucitada.</i>	<i>Romance</i>	D. IX, 4.
	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Historical narrative in verse.	D. IV, 8.
	—	Narrative in verse (2).	—
	—	<i>Mojiganga.</i>	—
	—	Burlesque narrative.	—
	<i>El Conde Claros.</i>	<i>Romance.</i>	D. IV, 1.
	<i>Griselda.</i>	Narrative in prose.	D. X, 10.
Alventosa, Pedro de.	Id.	<i>Romance</i> in three parts.	—
	Novela en Redon- dillas.	<i>Redondillas.</i>	D. VII, 1.
	<i>Historia lastimosa y sentida de los tiernos amantes Marsilla y Segura.</i>	<i>Redondillas.</i>	D. IV, 8.

AUTHOR	TITLE	LITERARY FORM	ANALOGUE IN DECAME- RON
Barbieri, Francisco Asenjo.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Libretto (unpublished).	—
Blasco, Eusebio.....	<i>Los Novios de Teruel.</i>	Lyrico-burlesque drama.	—
Bretón, Tomás.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Opera (words and music).	—
Castel-Leon, Renato de.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Historical novel.	—
Comella, Luciano Fr.	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Tragi-lyrical episode.	—
Espinel, Vicente....	<i>Relaciones de la vida y aventuras del Escudero Marcos de Obregon, f. 217.</i>	Narrative.	D. II, 5.
Fernández y González, Manuel....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Historical novel.	D. IV, 8.
Gil, Andrés.....	<i>El verdadero amigo.</i>	<i>Entremés.</i>	D. VII, 7.
Guerta, Hierónimo de.....	<i>Florando de Castilla, Canto IX.</i>	Poem in <i>octava rima.</i>	D. IV, 8.
Guevara, Luis.....	<i>Intercadencias de la calentura de Amor: Suceso sexto, La desdichada firmeza.</i>	Short story.	D. IV, 1.
Guimbao y Simon, Joaquin.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Legendary poem.	D. IV, 8.
Hartzenbusch, Juan Eugenio.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Drama.	—
Láinez, Pedro.....	[ <i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i> ]	Passage intercalated in an eclogue.	—
Montalban, Juan Pérez de.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Drama.	—
Navarro, Pedro.....	<i>Comedia muy exemplar de la marquesa de Saluzia.</i>	Drama.	D. X, 10.
Nifo, Francisco Mariano.....	<i>La casta amante de Teruel, Doña Isabel de Segura.</i>	Dramatic monologue.	D. IV, 8.

AUTHOR	TITLE	LITERARY FORM	ANALOGUE IN DECAME- RON
Rey de Artieda, Andrés.....	<i>Los Amantes.</i>	Drama.	—
Reyes, Matias de los.	<i>El Curial de Parnaso.</i>		
	Aviso II.	Short story.	D. X, 8.
—	<i>El Curial de Parnaso</i>		
	Aviso III.	—	D. II, 5.
—	<i>El Menandro</i> , ff. 19 <sup>vo</sup> , 54 <sup>vo</sup> .	Narrative.	D. IV, 10. D. IX, 6.
—	<i>El Menandro</i> , ff. 48 <sup>vo</sup> et sqq.	—	D. X, 4. D. IV, 8.
Salas, Juan Yagüe de. Santa Cruz, Melchor de.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Hendecasyllables.	
	<i>Floresta española. Se-</i> <i>gunda parte, n° lxij.</i>	Anecdote.	D. VI, 4.
	<i>Floresta española. Se-</i> <i>gunda parte, n° lxxj.</i>	—	D. X, 1.
Suarez de Deza, Vi- cente.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Comedy.	D. IV, 8,
Suarez de Figueroa, Christóbal.....	<i>El Passagero</i> , Ali- vivo VII.	Narrative.	D. II, 5.
Timoneda, Juan de..	<i>El Patrañuelo</i> : Pa- traña 2.	Short story.	D. X, 10.
—	<i>El Patrañuelo</i> : Pa- trana 15.	—	D. II, 9.
—	<i>El Patrañuelo</i> : Pa- traña 22.	—	D. X, 8.
—	<i>Sobremesa y Alivio de</i> <i>Caminantes, Parte I,</i> Cuento XLVII.	Anecdote.	D. X, 1.
—	<i>Sobremesa y Alivio de</i> <i>Caminantes, Parte I,</i> Cuento LXIX.	—	D. VII, 7.
—	<i>Sobremesa y Alivio de</i> <i>Caminantes, Par-</i> <i>te II, Cuento XLV.</i>	—	D. VI, 4.
Tirso de Molina....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Drama.	D. IV, 8.



AUTHOR	TITLE	LITERARY FORM	ANALOGUE IN DECAMERON
Torquemada, Antonio de.....	<i>Los Colloquios satiricos f.</i>	Story.	D. X, 1.
Vega Carpio, Lope de.	<i>El anzuelo de Fenisa.</i>	Drama.	D. VIII, 10.
	<i>La boda entre dos maridos.</i>	—	D. X, 8.
	<i>La discreta enamorada.</i>	—	D. III, 3.
	<i>El exemplo de casadas.</i>	—	D. X, 10.
	<i>El balcon de Federigo.</i>	—	D. V, 9.
	<i>El llegar en ocasion.</i>	—	D. II, 2.
	<i>El ruyseñor de Sevilla.</i>	—	D. V, 4.
	<i>El servir con mala estrella.</i>	—	D. X, 1.
Ubiols Luis.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Historical novel.	D. IV, 8.
Villalba y Estaña, Bartolomé.....	<i>Los Amantes de Teruel</i> pp. 113-272 in <i>El Pelegrino curioso.</i>	Historical poem.	D. IV, 8.
Villaroyo, Isidoro...	<i>Historia de los Amantes de Teruel.</i>	Novel.	D. IV, 8.
Zapates, Doña Rosario.....	<i>Gli Amanti de Teruel</i>	Opera libretto.	—

## 2. WORKS WHICH SHOW THE INFLUENCE OF THE DECAMERON AS A WHOLE.

The *Decameron*, then, was found useful in Spain both as a store-house of material which might be transferred almost verbatim into the Spanish language, and as a source of plots for many stories and plays. It also suggested to the Spaniards the idea of binding a number of purely recreative stories into one whole by some slender connecting thread of fiction.

The Spanish *novela* of the seventeenth century is not, as a rule, of the same type as the tale which holds the corresponding place in Italy. It deals less frequently than does the Italian with

small incidents of common place domestic life, but shows rather an attempt to follow a procedure similar to that of Cervantes, whose *Novelas exemplares* treat of adventures far more unusual and romantic than do the majority of the stories of Boccaccio and Bandello. The idea of short-story writing, nevertheless, came from Italy, and the Italian *novella* was regarded in the seventeenth century in Spain, as the model whose excellence a Spanish story-teller should strive to attain. Thus, Alonso de Castillo Solorzano, one of the most prolific *novelistas* of the seventeenth century, says in his *Tardes entretenidas*<sup>1</sup>: "... espero de los agudos ingenios de todas estas damas que han de nouelar muy a imitacion de lo de Italia, donde tanto se han preciado desto ". And in the same spirit Francisco Lugo y Davila<sup>2</sup> singles out Boccaccio as the author to study whom will bring perfection in the art of story writing: " Y si quisieredes perficionar con mas arte estos preceptos [those of story writing], leed todo el segundo libro de los Retoricos de Aristotiles... y para la practica harta os dara el Bocacio en su Fiameta y en el Decameron de sus nouelas ".

1. *Tardes entretenidas*. Por don Alonso de Castillo Solorzano,... En Madrid... Viuda de Alonso Martin, 1625, f. 4 vº.

Also: *La Quinta de Lavra*,... Por Don Alonso Castillo Solorzano, En Çaragoça: En el Real Hospital de nuestra Señora de Gracia, Año 1649, p. 3 « ... tratò esta dama de que... la entretuuiessen, yà con musica, yà con danças, y yà con nouelar, exercicio mui vsado en Italia; diganlo los Vandelos, Sansouinos, y Bocacios, que tantos tomos se han impresso dellas, y aora en España los han excedido con grandes ventajas. »

*Los Alivios de Casandra*... Por Don Alonso de Castillo Solorzano. Barcelona, Iayme Romeu 1640, f. 4 vº « y el genero de aliuiio, me parece (con vuestro consentimiento) que sea el exercicio de nouelar, tan vsado en Italia, y aun en España,... »

Francisco de Icaza, *l. c.*, p. 98: « Los escritores italianos sugirieron a Cervantes la idea de que la vida era novelable »...

2. *Teatro popular: Novelas morales*. Por D. Francisco de Lugo y Dauila: En Madrid, Por la Viuda de Fernando Correa Montenegro. Año 1622, f. 6 vº.

In the Prologue to his *Novelas exemplares* <sup>1</sup>, Cervantes promises a book soon to appear, *Las semanas del jardín*, saying :

“ Tras ellas, si la vida no me dexa, te ofrezco los trabajos de Persiles, libro que se atreue a competir con Cliodoro (*sic*), si ya por atreuido no sale con las manos en la cabeça : y primero verás, y con breuedad dilatadas las hazañas de don Quixote, y donayres de Sancho Pança : y luego las Semanas del Iardín ”.

The title of this promised work hints at its intended contents : it was probably planned to describe the diversions of a party of people at some country estate, and would, no doubt, following the example set by widely-known Italian books of *novelle*, have contained stories told in turn by different members of the party.

That Cervantes knew Boccaccio or others of the Italian *novellieri*, seems indicated by the passages of the same *Prólogo* in which he claims to be the first writer of *novelas* in Castilian and asserts his intention of writing no stories but such as shall harm neither the soul nor the body of the reader <sup>2</sup>.

Cervantes' *Semanas del jardín* never appeared, and his own words are the only record we have that such a book was contemplated by him. The earliest important book of tales modelled as a whole upon the *Decameron* is Tirso's *Cigarrales de Toledo* <sup>3</sup>, (1624) though in 1620 Salas Barbadillo's *Casa del Plazer honesto* <sup>4</sup> was printed, which, while imitating the plan of the

1. *Novelas exemplares*; Madrid, Iuan de la Cuesta, 1613. (The copy of the Bibl. Nac., Madrid, lacks the title-page.)

Cervantes mentions the *Semanas del Jardín* also in *dedicatoria* of *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*; cf. *Obras completas de Cervantes*. Ed. dirigida por Don Cayetano Rossell, Madrid, 1864, tomo IX, p. 3.

2. *Ut supra*.

3. *Cigarrales de Toledo* || 1ª parte, Compuestos Por el || Maestro Tirso de Molina. || En Madrid Por || Luis Sanchez Inpressor || del Rey Nuestro Señor || Año de 1624. || (*Privilegio* November 8, 1621).

4. *Casa del plazer honesto* || Avtor, Alonso Geronimo || de Salas Barbadillo. || Año 1620 || En Madrid, En casa de la viuda de || Cosme Delgado.

*Decameron* far less closely than the *Cigarrales*, yet in its general arrangement appears to go back to Boccaccio's book. Four students of Salamanca, studying rather to satisfy their fathers' ambition than from necessity, go to Madrid, take a house near the Prado and fit it up to their taste in order to pass their time there in "apazible y no escandaloso deleyte". The evenings are spent in various kinds of entertainments which always include the telling of a *novela*. Guests are invited to these entertainments which are held in a large room where a stage has been erected for giving *comedias*. The book contains six *novelas*.

Tirso's *Cigarrales de Toledo* is a collection of stories, *comedias* and *romances* told, played and sung in different country-seats or *cigarrales* — near Toledo for the amusement of a party of people during the dog-days. The entertainments are managed in turn by different members of the party at the various *cigarrales*.

Francisco Lugo y Davila in his *Novelas morales*<sup>1</sup> tells of three friends who "para vacar a mayores cuidados, huyendo el ocio" agree to occupy the afternoons by telling each in his turn a *novela*.

Several of Castillo Solorzano's volumes of stories follow the general plan of the *Decameron*: the *Tardes entretenidas*<sup>2</sup>, *Jornadas alegres*<sup>3</sup>, *Huerta de Valencia*<sup>4</sup>, *Noches de plazer*<sup>5</sup>, *Alivios de Casandra* and *Quinta de Laura*<sup>6</sup>, are all collections of stories told in turn by a number of people whom some particular occasion has brought together.

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1. Cf. *supra*, p. 193, note 2.

2. Cf. *supra*, p. 193, note 1.

3. *Jornadas alegres*. Por don Alonso de Castillo Solorzano, . . . En Madrid, Por Juan Gonzalez, Año 1626.

4. *Huerta de Valencia* . . . Por don Alonso de Castillo Solorzano, . . . En Valencia por Miguel Sorolla. . . Año 1639.

5. *Noches de plazer*. Por Don Alonso de Castillo Solorzano, Barcelona, Cormellas, 1631.

6. Cf. *supra*, p. 193, note 1.

The *Quinta de Laura* shows perhaps a closer adherence to the plan of the *Decameron* than Solorçano's other volumes of *novelas*. In this book a number of young women are represented as assembled at Laura's country seat, where on six successive days they amuse themselves by telling stories. Each day is under the especial direction of one of the party. Each tale is preceded by a brief prologue which contains a song, and is followed by a short epilogue telling how the story just narrated pleased the listeners. The prologues, which describe the beauties of the day and of Laura's "quinta", though written in Solorçano's accustomed florid style show an evident attempt to imitate Boccaccio's prologues to the *Giornate* of the *Decameron* <sup>1</sup>.

Juan Pérez de Montalban's well-known *Para todos* <sup>2</sup> seems, in its arrangement, to be modelled upon the *Decameron*. It is divided into an Introduction and seven Days, which are spent by a party of people in a country house in telling stories, giving plays and discussing various supposedly scientific questions such as "Las influencias y calidades del sol considerado como planeta". Each day's entertainment is under the direction of some one member of the party.

The *Novelas amorosas* <sup>3</sup> of María de Zayas are told in turn by five young men and five young women who have come together to

1. *La Quinta de Laura*, p. 117, The prologue to wednesday's entertainment: «Trinavan los pintados paxarillos en las verdes ramas del hermoso jardín de Laura, brindados del murmureo de las risueñas y cristalinas fuentes, señal que con menos fuego aliviaua el can mayor su ardiente sed... Quando el discreto conclauí (sic) de Damas, siruientes de la hermosa Laura, acompañando a su bello dueño... baxo al jardín.»

Epilogue, p. 139. «Todos celebraron mucho la artificiosa nouela de Artemidora, por auerla escrito con el cuidado de no poner en toda ella vna, y despues tomadola de memoria, ella agradeciò los aplausos al Auditorio...».

2. *Para todos, exemplos morales, humanos y diuinos*. Por el Doctor Juan Perez de Montaluan, Huesca, Pedro Bluson, Año de M. DC, XXXIII.

3. *Novelas Amorosas y exemplares* compuestas por Doña Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor. Zaragoza 1637.

amuse one of the latter, Lisis, just recovering from a fever. Each story is introduced by a short prologue.

The same plan is followed in the *Segunda Parte* of the *Novelas amorosas*<sup>1</sup>.

Andrés del Prado in his *Meriendas del Ingenio y Entretenimientos del Gusto*<sup>2</sup>, gives six *novelas*, told by six people who have gone to a sanctuary just outside of Saragossa, where Arminda, one of the number, wishes to offer a *novena* in thanks for her restoration to health.

The *Auroras de Diana* by Pedro de Castro y Anaya<sup>3</sup> may perhaps also be included among the books which imitate the arrangement of the *Decameron*. Diana, heiress of the Duke of Mantua, goes to an estate on the Po to recover from an illness. The *Auroras* describe the diversions planned on five days to amuse her, by the gentlemen of the Duke's court, who take turns in arranging the *fiesta* of the day. The book contains two long *novelas*.

As late as 1663 Doña María Carabajal y Saavedra, in her *Novelas entretenidas*<sup>4</sup> follows the same, and by this time, well-worn, plan. Her *novelas* are told at Christmas time on five successive nights by the inhabitants of a house near the Prado. Different members of the party in turn are responsible for the entertainment of the evening.

These and other collections similar in plan and in title, show how constantly the Spanish *novelistas* of the seventeenth

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1. *Primera y Segunda Parte de las novelas amorosas y exemplares de Doña Maria de Zayas y de Sotomayor*, Madrid, 1664 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1647).

2. *Meriendas del Ingenio y entretenimientos del Gusto*. En seis novelas. Por D. Andres del Prado, Çaragoca, 1663.

3. *Las Auroras de Diana*. Por Don Pedro de Castro y Anaya; Murcia, Luis Verbs, 1632.

4. *Navidades de Madrid, y noches entretenidas, en ocho novelas*. Compvesto por Doña Mariana de Carauajal y Saavedra. Madrid, Domingo García Morrás, 1663.

century ran their stories in the old Italian mold. It might be wished that they had been able to imitate the first great modern master of story-telling in something besides the mere framework of his book. For though the authors just mentioned are counted among the best of the epoch to which they belong, they had but little power to understand or to create character, and the stories they produced, for the most part quite lacking in intrinsic merit, are without interest save to the student of Spanish literary history.

## VI. CONCLUSION.

The influence of the *Decameron* upon Spanish literature began to grow weaker in the last third of the seventeenth century; the eighteenth century shows it in marked decline, and by the middle of the nineteenth, the work once so well-known in the Spanish peninsula seems to be almost entirely forgotten. For Buenaventura Aribau <sup>1</sup>, in discussing the origin of the stories of Timoneda's *Patrañuelo*, refers to the source of *Patraña* 2 (the story of Griselda) as a "novela italiana de aquel tiempo" and makes no reference whatever to the originals of *Patraña* 15 (*Giorn.* II. 9.) and *Patraña* 22 (*Giorn.* X. 8).

Nor does Gallardo seem to know that Timoneda is indebted to the *Decameron*. In speaking of the *Patrañuelo* <sup>2</sup> he says: "Las *Patrañas* de Timoneda tienen no sé qué sabor á italiano en nombres, lugares y estilo, y me temo sean mas traduzidas que originales (v. gr. *Grisélida*; sobre este asunto corre aún en el día un romance popular)".

If the *Decameron* was thus unfamiliar to Aribau and Gallardo,

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1. B. A. E. vol. III, 1846. *Discurso preliminar. Sobre la primitiva novela española*, p. xxxiii.

2. Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. IV, col. 737, nº 4037.

we may well infer that to the general reading public it was quite unknown.

No modern editions in Spanish of the *Decameron* were printed until after 1868. These omit everything but the description of the plague and the stories. They are devoid of literary merit, and were evidently printed as a business venture depending for success upon the existence of a taste depraved enough to care solely for the matter of the stories.

C. B. BOURLAND.

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## APPENDIX A.

### SONGS FOUND IN THE CATALAN M.S.

Jornada primera (fol. xxvj verso).

Eu am tal que es bo e bel  
 e suy gaya com l'auzel  
 qui per amor cria son xant  
 e suy senyora e cap dell  
 es ell qu eu am no se n apel  
 car sus tots son mils amant  
 que xausiray lo pus presant  
 el mils del mon eu l ami tant  
 Que s en pensant lo cuyt veser  
 e cartener e quant no ver  
 Un desesper me fer tant gent  
 quan lo say en la danca.

This song is printed, with several variants, in Milá, *Obras*, tomo III, p. 457, as the first stanza of *La Reyna de Mallorca*.  
 Jornada quinta (fol. clxxx verso, col. 1).

No puch guarir de la nafra preyon  
 Que m fech amor quant me pres de son for



---

Que n ten alt loch ma fayt pausar lo cor  
Que m fay amor la pus bella del mon.  
E llas on pordy trobar garida  
    Ans que ma vida  
    fenesca per greu mort  
    tort me fa amor e tort.

Que feray en pus no trob confort  
En fin amor ans me leixa morir  
A vos aten dona que fay gresir  
Que m detingats dins vostre segur port  
Ladonchs stort seray de la marrida  
    nafra payrida  
    si vostro curial  
    tal me fessets a caball.

Cors ben format just tallat è equal  
Fayta us ha Dieu a compass e a livell  
Que ls membres tots de vos porten segell  
de beutat gran si que l mon non ha tal  
dos si no m val amor qu eu hay servida  
    dona gresida  
    fayts me vos gariso  
    so de vos e d altra no.

Pus rich seray que David hanch no fo  
si d un sol hoch me fasian joyos  
E s hauran fi mes nafres e dolors  
dona qu eu pas ab cruel passio  
E si lo do que us deman nom da vida  
    sera finida  
    ma salut e morray  
    Ay planyent vos finay.

De jenollons merce us deman cors gay  
si hay fallit en ma canço d amor  
forçat me n ha una punyent langor  
Qui m part del cor e no m laxa jamay  
Donchs que feray si de merce complida  
    no trob la mida  
    en vos per ajudar  
    dar la podets sens tardar.

Cert no m display la mort si m quer ni m crida  
Car en partida  
morray per vos amar  
Car am vos noble sens par.

Jornada sisena (fol. ccv, col. 1).

No puech dormir soleta no  
Que m fare lassa  
Si no mi spassa  
tant mi turmenta lamor

Ay amich mon dolç amich  
Somiat vos he esta nit  
Que m fare lassa  
Somiat vos he esta nit  
Que us tenia en mon lit  
Que m fare lassa.

Ay amat mon dolç amat  
Anit vos he somiat  
Que m fare lassa  
Anit vos he somiat  
Que us tenia en mon braç  
Que m fare lassa.

Jornada octava (fol. cclxviiij, vº, col. 1).

Pus que vuyt jorns stich Senyora  
que no us mir  
ara es hora que me n tolga  
lo desir

E quant eu pas per la posada  
eu dich Amor qui us ha lunyada  
que no us mir  
Ara es hora que m n tolga  
lo desir

Jo dich amor qui us ha lunyada  
lo falç marit qui m ha reptada  
que no us mir  
Ara es hora que me n tolga  
lo desir

E quant eu pas per la pertida  
 eu dich amor qui us ha trahida  
 que no us mir  
 Ara es hora que me n tolga  
 lo desir.

Jo dich amor qui us ha trahida  
 lo falç gelos qui m ha ferida  
 que no us mir  
 Ara es hora que me n tolga  
 lo desir

## APPENDIX B

### THE TITLES OF THE *CAPITULOS* OF THE PROLOGUE, AND OF THE STORIES OF *E*.

Capitulo primero en que se muestra El tiempo enque este libro fue fecho E la graue pestilençia que fue fecha en florençia (cf. D. I, 39, 26).

Capitulo ij de la crueldad z malicia de aquella pestilençia (cf. D. I, 39, 44).

Capitulo iij como las dueñas que fizieron estas nouelas se juntaron en la egleſia (cf. D. I, 44, 28).

Capitulo iiij del consejo que dio panpinea alas otras dueñas (cf. D. I, 45, 14).

Capitulo v de como las dueñas loaron El consejo de panpinea (cf. D. I, 47, 19).

Capitulo vj de como los tres gentiles moços entraron en la egleſia (cf. D. I, 47, 45).

Capitulo vij dela dispuscion del logaron (*sic*) do fueron primero (cf. D. I, 49, 1. *Era*).

Capitulo viij como las siete dueñas z tres moços eligieron a panpinea por Reyna (cf. D. I, 49, 45).

Capitulo ix como todos se acordaron al nouellar antes que a otro juego ninguno (cf. D. I, 51, 22, *come voi*).

Capitulo x como se razono panfileo antes que nouellase (cf. D. I, 54, 1 34).

Capitulo xi como cerçia pelleto de prado fazendo mala vida z en la fyn falsa confesion fue avido por santo.

Capitulo xij como abraham judio a ynstançia de su amigo juanoto fue a Roma z non enbargante lo que vido se torno cristiano.

Capitulo XIII coño Melchisedeque judio se sopo librar del peligro del Saladyno.

Capitulo XIIIJ de coño la marquesa de monferrad fablo al Rey de Françia.

Capitulo xv de coño vn buen omne Reprehendio la ypocresia de vn frayle.

Capitulo xvi de coño miçer Guillelmo bolsyel sutilmente reprehendyo a miçer arniño de grimaldo.

Capitulo xvij de coño la dueña de guiana Respondio al Rey de Chipre.

Capitulo xviii coño maestro alberto de boloño Reprehendio alas dueñas.

Capitulo xix como los tres burladores florentynes se fallaron burlados.

Capitulo xx de los tres moços τ tres donzellas de marsella.

Capitulo xxi de coño fresco de çialitico Reprehendio asu liuiana sobrina.

Capitulo xxii de miçer guerri espini τ de çisty fornero.

Capitulo xxiii de miçer forese E del pintor guieto.

Capitulo xxiiii de tres moços florentines que burlaron a vn juez en florençia.

Capitulo xxv de la prenes (*sic*) del pyntor Calandriano.

Capo xxvj. del fortarigio τ del anguiolero.

Capitulo xxvij del obispo de florençia E de madona loba de pulla.

Capitulo xxviii de miçer Corado τ de chinchibio su cozinero.

Capit. xxix del saladino τ de miçer corrello de pauya.

Capit xxx de la sabia respuesta de guido caualgâte.

Capitulo xxxi de como frey çebolla en su sermon engañoa los çercaldeses.

Capitulo xxxij de çimon E dela su egenia.

Capitulo xxxiii de tito quicio Romano τ de gesipo τ de sofornia que creyendo ser muger de gesipo es de tito qñçio.

Capitulo xxxiiii de los consejos q̄ dio salamon a dos moços.

Capit. xxxv del Rey don alfonso de españa τ del cauallero de florençia.

Capitulo xxxvj de pedro boca negra τ su amiga madona angeleta.

Capit. xxxvij delas dos piedras de landolfo Rufoli.

Capitulo xxxviii de madona orta τ miçer gueri espini.

Capit. xxxix del Rey de Aragon τ de çeçilia τ de Juo de proçida.

Capitu xl de viegeto capaçio τ ssu muger madona beritola.

Capit xli de medridanes q̄ seyendo enbidioso dela cortesia de natã fuepor lo matar, τ Reconosçiendolo eñil môte su amigo se torrno.

Capit xlii como yêdo miçer frãçisco por potestad a milan demãdo vn palafrê al çima el q̄l amaua asu muger τ por eso gelo dio τ cuydando engañar fue engañado.

Capit xliii coño tâcredi pñçipe de salerrno mato al amãte de su fija τ ã vna copa de oro el coraçõ ala fija ãbio la q̄l se mato.

Capitulo xlviij de nastasio τ de la vision q̄ vido amãdo a vno delos trauesarios.

Capit xlv de coño fadriq̄ ama τ nõ es amado τ ã cortesia despẽdiẽdo se cõsume el q̄ no auieõ mas de vn falcõ ala dona suya lo dio.

Capit̃ XLVIJ de coñmo miçer liçio de bal bueñ fallo a su fija conel Ruysenor enla mano.

Capit̃. XLVIJ de coñmo paganino de monago Robo la muger de miçer Recardo de qñcia coñl la mugr̃ nõ q̃so venir.

Capitulo XLVIJ de coñmo ludouico descubrio a madona boatche el amor q̃ le ha la q̃l ebio a egano su marido en vn jardin e forma desy τ cõ ludouico se yaze.

Capit̃ XLIX de coñmo lidia muger de nicostrato le mato vn gaulã τ le saco vn diete τ vn Repelo dela barua por contentar a pedro su amante τ conel se solaza.

Capit̃ L de vn escolar q̃ ama a vna dueña biuda la qual es enamorada de otro y vñ noche de ynuerno le faze estar sobr' la nieue ala espar ala q̃l el escolar mediado jullio faze esta' encim̃ vna torre desnuda alas (*sic*).

Capit̃ LJ de vn mercader çeloso q̃ faziẽdo se cligo sefizo cõfesor de su mugr̃ por la engañar τ fue engañado.

Capit̃. LIJ de vna dueña q̃ era enamorada de leoneto y estãdo conel vino o to amãte suyo y estãdo entrãbos dento vino el marido τ fizole creer q̃ nõ era nada delo q̃ fecho auia.

Capo LIJ de coñmo la mugr̃ de arigucho se ato vn filo al pie por do avia de tyrar su amãte q̃ndo viniese τ su marido lo setio τ ello lo deffizo.

Capit̃ LIJ de como la mugr̃ de nicoluçio fue enterrado por mano de sus pariẽtes τ miçer gẽtil seyendo della enamorado la desenterro.

Capit̃. LV de como giliber to ebio su mugr̃ asu amãte el q̃l guardãdo su hõrra gela torno a ebiar.

Capit̃ LVJ de coñmo el Rey carlos el viejo oyẽdo la beldad de vn jardĩ q̃ vn cauallõ auya se fue alla a solazar τ seyẽdo biẽ Resçebido del cauallõ τ cenãdo coñl se enamoro dedos sus fijas τ por cõsejo del conde guido las caso coñmo si fuesen sus fijas.

Capit̃ LVIJ de como el mayor domo dõ juo letenigue (*sic*) seyendo casado cõ madona teresa ella se enamoro de vn jouẽ llamado fadrico y estãdo e vno veno fadrico τ llamo ala puerta τ se leuãtarõ ambos τ ella lo espãto.

Capit̃ LVIIJ de coñmo peronela seyendo casada se enamoro ella τ juo estimaço τ de como el estãdo coñlla veno el marido τ ponella fiza a juo entrãr e vna cuba τ Riño coñl marido τ de coñmo fizo salir al amigo de la cuba τ gela vèdierõ ambos.

Capit̃ LIX de coñmo Recardo de sena seyẽdo enamorado de vna dueña se fizo frayle τ la soliq̃ito fasta q̃ alcanço coñlla q̃nto q̃so.

Capit̃. LX de coñmo madona guita muger de cofano pẽsando q̃ ouiese enbriagado asu marido, fue acasa de su amãte τ delo q̃le avino.

## APPENDIX C.

## CONCORDANCE OF ALL THE STORIES IN D, E, AND S.

D.	S.	E.	D.	S.	E.	D.	S.	E.
1,1	1	11	8	84		5	42	23
2	2	12	9	19		6	43	
3	3	13	10	83		7	44	
4	6		4,1	31	43	8	45	21
5	7	14	2	32		9	50	30
6	8	15	3	34	20	10	51	31
7	9		4	35		7,1	70	59
8	5	16	5	85		2	71	58
9	4	17	6	33		3	27	59
10	10	18	7	98		4	72	60
2,1	11	19	8	86		5	29	51
2	12		9	38		6	89	52
3	13		10	41		7	65	48
4	14	37	5,1	21	32	8	64	53
5	15		2	87		9	66	49
6	16	40	3	23	36	10	90	
7	17		4	63	46	8,1	52	
8	18		5	99		2	53	
9	74		6	22	39	3	91	
10	20	47	7	24		4	92	
3,1	81		8	25	44	5	37	24
2	30		9	77	45	6	93	
3	82		10	88		7	67	50
4	26		6,1	46	38	8	39	
5	62	42	2	47	22	9	(101)	
6	76		3	48	27	10	55	
7	75		4	49	28	9,1	97	

D.	S.	E.	D.	S.	E.	D.	S.	E.
2	40		10	78		8	60	33
3	54	25	10,1	57	35	9	61	29
4	80	26	2	96		10	79	
5	is lacking		3	58	41			
6	28		4	68	54			
7	100		5	69	55			
8	94		6	59	56			
9	56	34	7	95				

*S* also contains a *novela* 73, which is not taken from the *Decameron*.

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE SUCCESSION OF THE STORIES IN *E*, *D*, AND *S*.

<i>E</i> .	<i>D</i> .	<i>S</i> .	<i>E</i> .	<i>D</i> .	<i>S</i> .	<i>E</i> .	<i>D</i> .	<i>S</i> .
11	1,1	1	27	6,3	48	44	5,8	25
12	1,2	2	28	6,4	49	45	5,9	77
13	1,3	3	29	10,9	61	46	5,4	63
14	1,5	7	30	6,9	50	47	2,10	20
15	1,6	8	31	6,10	51	48	7,7	65
16	1,8	5	32	5,1	21	49	7,9	66
17	1,9	4	33	10,8	60	50	8,7	67
18	1,10	10	34	9,9	56	51	7,5	29
19	2,1	11	35	10,1	57	52	7,6	89
20	4,3	34	36	5,3	23	53	7,8	64
21	6,8	45	37	2,4	14	54	10,4	68
22	6,2	47	38	6,1	46	55	10,5	69
23	6,5	42	39	5,6	22	56	10,6	59
24	8,5	37	40	2,6	16	57	7,1	70
25	9,3	54	41	10,3	58	58	7,2	71
26	9,4	80	42	3,5	62	59	7,3	27
			43	4,1	31	60	7,4	72

## APPENDIX D.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE STORIES OF THE *DECAMERON*

## D. II. 4.

Castillo Solorçano's *El pronóstico cumplido* contains an incident which seems to be taken from the *Decameron*, *Giorn.* II, 4: Silvio, having been thrown overboard by his father during a storm, saves himself by clinging to a floating chest. He is picked up by a passing vessel; the chest is taken on board with him, and he later finds it to contain a « suma cantidad de finisimas piedras preciosas », which make him rich for life (cf. *Noches de Plazer*, Barcelona, Cormellas, 1631, fol. 129 v<sup>o</sup>).

## D. III. 8.

The trick played by the third woman upon her husband in Tirso de Molina's *Tres maridos burlados* has been thought to be an imitation of the eighth *novella* of the third day<sup>1</sup>. Giuseppe Rua<sup>2</sup>, however, correctly points out that it resembles much more closely the third part of a *novella* in verse found in Il Cieco da Ferrara's *Mambriano*, which he reprints under the title *Novella di tre Donne che trovarono un anello*. Il Cieco's poem, like Tirso's *novela*, tells of three women who discovered a ring, which was to be the reward of the one among the three who should play the best trick upon her husband. Two of the « burlas » are the same in both stories: that in which the wife by changing the door of the house in her husband's absence,

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1. Such was the opinion of Hartzzenbusch, quoted by Cayetano Rosell, B. A. E, vol. XVIII (*Novelistas posteriores à Cervantes* t. I). *Noticia de las obras y Autores que se incluyen en este tomo*, pp. XII-XIII.

2. cf. *Antiche Novelle in versi* di Giuseppe Rua, Palermo, 1895, pp. XXII-XXXIV.



makes him believe that his home has been converted into an inn; and the one telling of the husband who is tonsured, carried to a monastery, and made to think that he is a monk. The third woman, according to Il Cieco, induces her husband to have a perfectly sound tooth extracted; Tirso represents her as persuading her husband to believe that he is dead.

Rua thinks that Tirso followed a prose version of Il Cieco's poem made by Celio Malespini<sup>1</sup>, and in a general way calls attention to the similarity between Celio's version of the third woman's trick and Tirso account of it. He also notes that in both versions the superior of the monastery tells the duped husband that he has been fifteen years a monk.

We may add these specific cases of agreement between the stories of Tirso, and of Il Cieco (followed by Celio Malespini). The husband is made to believe that he is a friar; (not that he is dead and in purgatory, as in Boccaccio); he is called to matins and compelled to intone an antiphony; he accompanies another friar in a walk through the city, comes to his own house, sees his wife and tries to persuade her that he is her husband, — but she will have none of him. According to both Il Cieco and Tirso the other friars treat their pretended brother as though he were mad.

The single trait in which Tirso's story resembles Boccaccio's more than the *novella* in verse is that both Boccaccio and Tirso, represent the husband as very jealous of his wife.

The story of three women who find some treasure and agree that it shall be given to the one who best deceives her husband,

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1. A misprint in Rua places Malespini at the end of the xvii century. He wrote at the end of the xvi century. Cf. *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Series V, vol. XIII, pp. 35-80. Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, *Di Celio Malespini Ultimo novelliere italiano in prosa del secolo xvi*, Celio's story may be read in the *Ducento Novelle* del Signor Celio Malespini. In Venezia MDCIX; parte II, nov. 95.

is found in varying forms in the literature of many countries <sup>1</sup>. The many points of resemblance, however, between Tirso's story and the two Italian versions discussed above, lead to the supposition that he had in mind either Il Cieco's verses or Celio's prose rendering of them when he wrote *Los tres maridos burlados*.

## D. III. 9.

Dunlop-Liebrecht<sup>2</sup> calls attention to the fact that an occurrence similar to the one related here is found in the *Romance del engaño que usó la reina doña María de Aragon, para que el rey don Pedro su marido durmiese con ella* <sup>3</sup>. This *Romance*, however, as had already been pointed out by Wolf <sup>4</sup> is based not upon Boccaccio's *novella* but upon the story of the birth of James I of Aragon (1208) as set down by Ramon Muntaner <sup>5</sup> (born 1285) and subsequent chroniclers.

## D. IV. 8.

Yagüe de Salas gives the following as the simple form of the legend of the *Amantes de Teruel* (cf. *l. c.*, in note 66, no 5, pp. 2-55.)

*Argomento, o Hipotesi de la accion de los Amantes de Teruel, desnudo de episodios.*

1. *Zur Volkskunde. Alte und neue Aufsätze von Felix Liebrecht.* Heilbron. Gebr. Henninger, 1879, pp. 124-141.

2. Dunlop-Liebrecht, *l. c.*, p. 639, col. 1.

3. *Über eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen in fliegenden Blättern*, Wien, 1850, p. 42.

4. *Rosa de Romances. Sacadas de las Rosas de Juan de Timoneda, por Don Fernando Wolf.* Leipsique. F. A. Brockhaus, 1846.

5. *Cronica de Ramon Muntaner*, Valencia, Viuda de Ioan Mey. 1558, cap. III-VI.

Marzilla y Segura hijos de padres nobles de Teruel, se criaron juntos en su niñez, con título de primos. Hierelos amor con su flecha de oro. Y siendo Marzilla de edad de ceñir espada, el padre de Segura le impide la entrada en su casa. Tratan los Amantes de que el padre de Marzilla la pida en casamiento para su hijo. El se escusa con decir que son niños si bien no es esa la causa, sino (siendo muy rico) parecerle que Marzilla el moço era pobre, por ser hijo segundo. Determina el valeroso joven ir a la guerra. Ella ofrece esperarlo siete años sin casarse. Y passados (aunque poca distancia de tiempo), Segura, a persuasión de sus padres, se casa. Llega Marzilla de la guerra la noche antes del día de las bodas rico y prospero; y la de aquellas, mientras se celebra el sarao, se mete en el aposento de los novios. Segura recaba de su marido no la goze esa noche que se cumple un voto por ella hecho, y el marido se duerme. Marzilla saliendo detras de unos tapizes, despues de grandes quejas por auerse casado le pide a Segura en pago del amor que la ha tenido, un beso: y no queriendoselo dar, de sentimiento muere. Segura despierta a su marido, y le cuenta el caso; y ambos, sin ser vistos lleuan a Marzilla muerto, y lo dexan a la puerta de las casas de su padre, que estauan al lado. Y otro día, lleuandolo a enterrar, se mete Segura entre las mugeres del entierro sin ser conocida: y llegados a la Iglesia de San Pedro, cubierta con el manto, se abraça con el difunto: y queriendola apartar, la descubren, y la hallan muerta, su boca con la de Marzilla, que le quiso dar el beso en muerte que no le dio en vida. Y admirados todos, la notan de liuiana. El marido cuenta el caso y los entierran juntos en un sepulcro.

#### D. VII. 4.

The Arcipreste de Talavera in his *Reprobacion del amor mundano*<sup>1</sup> tells a story of the same content as *Giorn.* VII. 4. The reasons, however, given by him, for the wife's unfaithfulness, as well as the end of the story, are indications that the *novella* of the *Decameron* was not his source (cf. Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 263).

#### D. IX. 2.

Miss Mary V. Young, in *Molières Stegreif Komödien im beson-*

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1. Cf. *supra*, l. c., p. 16, note 1.

deren *le Médecin Volant* (cf. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, 1898, Band XXII, pp. 190-229) supposes Lope's *Acero de Madrid* to go back to an Italian farce, the most remote source of which is an Italian *novella*, « die in ihrer ersten Gestalt der Novelle II des 9 Tages des Decamerone nicht unähnlich war » (p. 226).

## D. X. 5.

The substance of this story is found in María de Zayas' *Jardín engañoso*<sup>1</sup>. Before including it among the *novelle* of the *Decameron*, Boccaccio had already told this story in the *Filocopo*, and it may be read in Spanish in *Las treze questiones* where it occupies fol. 10-15 of the edition of Toledo 1549<sup>2</sup>.

It is the earlier version of Boccaccio's *novella* which seems to be the basis of María de Zayas' tale, as is evident from her description of the meeting between the hero and the wizzard in the wood.

## APPENDIX E

## NOTES ON GRISELDA

*A Catalan Manuscript of Griselda.*

A manuscript of Bernat Metge's translation of Petrarch's *Griselda* is to be found in the Biblioteca Provincial y Universitaria of Barcelona. The manuscript contains also the *Sompni* of Bernat Metge and several other Catalan works.

212 × 145 mm.

The story of Griselda begins fol. 128 and extends to the end of the book.

1. Cf. María de Zayas, *l. c.*, p. 196, note 3.

2. Cf. *infra*, pp. 225-226.

Title : *Historia de las bellas virtuts per Franc<sup>o</sup> Petrarca* (seventeenth century writing).

The text, undated, fifteenth century writing, begins :

En ytalia puincia ornade (*sic*) de molts notablas (*sic*) castells e vilas apellada lo merchasat de Saluçia.

The text ends :

e apres sos dies lexa son fill senyor e successor dila sua terra.

The story is preceded by a dedication to Madona Ysabel de Guimera, and followed by a letter to the same.

Bernat Metge's Catalan version of Petrarch's *Griselda* was printed in the *Biblioteca d'obretes singulars del bon temps d' nostra lengua materna estampades en letra lemosina*. Barcelona, libreria de Alvar Verdaguèr (edited and published by M. Aguiló y Fuster), with the title : *Historia d' Ualter || e de la pacient Griselda escrita en || llati per Francesch Petrarca : e || arromançada per Bernat Metge*. || Estampada en Barcelona per n'Evarist Villatres en l'any M.D.CCC.lxxxiiij.

A brief prefatory note says : « Dels dos manuscrits del quinzen segle que han servit per la edicio de la present obreta, lo que pertany a la Bibl. prov. y univ. de Barcelona (que es lo menys antichs dls dos) du'l titol, sobreposat en la centuria passada de *Historia de las bellas virtuts* ».

The second manuscript to which this note refers is perhaps the one spoken of in the edition of *El Buscapié* published by Don Adolfo de Castro in Cadiz, 1848<sup>1</sup>. Castro's note runs : « En la preciosísima librería de mi amigo el señor don Joaquin Rubió existe un m. s. de principios del siglo xv, el cual contiene un tratado de la *Orden de caballería* compuesto por Mestre Ramon Lull en lengua provenzal ó lemosina... Despues de este breve tratado del órden de Caballería, sigue la *Ystoria de Valter é de*

1. *El Buscapié* por Don Adolfo de Castro. Cadiz, 1848, p. 80.

*Griselda, composta per Bernat Metge, la qual racita Patrarcha pobeta laureat en les obres del qual io he singlar afeccio; y va dirigida à la molt honorable é honesta senyora Madona Isabel de Guimera ».*

I have no further information concerning this manuscript.

I will also mention a Catalan composition dated May 1895 and signed A.B.T. [initials of Antoni Bulbena y Tusell] consisting of three romances under the title : *Historia de Griselda La qual lo marquès Uàlter prengué per muller essent una humil pastoreta, e isqué lo més singular exemple de la obediencia que tota dona casada deu tenir a son marit* (Romanç extret de la novela que ab aquest nom traslladà Bernat Metge en lo xv<sup>en</sup> segle). Barcelona. — Stampa a càrrech d'en Fidel Giró, Passeig de Sant Joan, 168, 8 pages in two columns.

The *Griselda* of the *Suma de todas las cronicas del mundo*.  
Llamado en latin *Supplementum Chronicorum*.

In Narcis Viñola's translation of Foresti's *Supplementum Chronicorum*<sup>1</sup>, the story of *Griselda* occupies from fol. cccix<sup>o</sup> cccx<sup>o</sup>. The account here given is, as the chronicler himself says, taken from Petrarch : « La qual historia es llena de paciencia : por enxemplo de muchos. segun que se halla escrito en Francisco petrarca y por esso pense en la presente obra escreuir-la. »

Gualtieri is called Galter, and is said to be of the family of Alaramano, first Marquis of Monferrat.

The story begins abruptly with the words : « *Griselda de vil linage y pobre. Empero de virtud y obediencia y de fe muy guarnecida. Fue casada con uno que se dezia Galter, marques de Salucia.* » Nothing is said of the Marquis' disinclination to

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1. Con preuilegio Real || *Suma* || de to || das las || *Cronicas* || del mundo. || Llamado en latin *Suplementu Cronica* (sic) || For further details see the *Revue Hispanique*, IX, p. 332, note.

marriage, and consequently the long speech of Gualtherus' vassal urging his lord to marry does not occur here.

The omission of this harangue and of Gualtherus' speeches telling Griselda of his subjects' discontent with his marriage contribute to the condensation of this form, which is marked throughout by great conciseness. In all essentials it follows Petrarch closely.

The moral drawn from the story differs from Petrarch's, as it is expressly addressed to all women and encourages each one to bear with fortitude, after the example of Griselda, a perverse husband, or any other adversity which her ill fortune may visit upon her.

The chronicler seems to assume that the story is true, though he says he has not been able to learn at what time the events took place<sup>1</sup>.

## APPENDIX F

### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRASLATIONS INTO CASTILIAN AND CATALAN OF BOCCACCIO'S WORKS OTHER THAN THE *DECAMERON*

#### I. *Manuscripts.*

##### 1. *Fiameta.*

##### 1) Biblioteca del Escorial iij-e-9.

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1. A reference to Griselda is found in *Casos raros de vicios y virtudes para escarmiento de pecadores* por el R. P. Fr. Juan Laguna, Madrid 1804. Pag 3 : " *La mas humilde princesa.* Refiere Petrarca, citado de Engelgrave, en el sermón de la Conversión de S. Pablo, que hubo en Italia un Marques llamado Gualtero".....

89 ff. + 3 fly leaves and 2 blank leaves at the end of the book.

270 × 191 mm. Writing, fifteenth century.

Begins : fol. 1.

Suele a los miseros creçer de dolerse Reposo..

Ends : fol. 89 r.

y enxêplo p'petuo a los prosperos y a los miseros delas angustias dela tu señora q̄da (. . .

Feneçe el libro llamado elegia dela noble señora fiameta enbiado Atodas las eñmoradas damas.

Bound in brown leather with the grill of saint Laurence upon the sides.

2) Biblioteca del Escorial j-P-22.

Incomplete. Contains from fol. ii.-cxxxiiij inc. minus fol. lxxiiij-lxxxiv inc.

291 × 204 mm. Writing, fifteenth century.

Begins : fol. ii.

O sy del triste parto ala sepoltura oviese seydo leuada.

Ends : fol. cxxiiij verso.

z exemplo perpetuo a los prosperos z a los miseros queda delas angustias dela tu señora.

A dios grās.

The Ms. is dirty and some of the leaves are torn. It is bound in red leather with the grill of St Laurence upon the sides.

3) Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón.

150 ff. s. f.

286 × 207 mm. Writing last third of fifteenth century.

Begins fol. 1. r.

Com Ffiameta pregua a totes les dones qui lo present legiran quels souenga d̄la sua dolor e que ab ella ensemps se planguē de lurs dolors.

Sol als miserables crexet de player se de lit.

Ends : fol. 150 v.

exempla eternal als benaumentrats he als miserables roman delas anguoxes de la tua Dona Verona.



The MS. is complete but some of the leaves are badly eaten by the ink.

The headings to the chapters and the initial capital are in red. The book is bound in parchment.

2. *Libro de los montes z Rios z seluas.*

Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Fonds Esp. 458.

Fol. 1 recto — 64 vuelto.

288 × 214 mm. Writing fifteenth century.

Begins : fol. 1 r.

Introduçion al libro de iohan bocaçio florenti poeta laureado. El qual se intitula de los montes z Rios z selvas (in red).

Fatigado de trabaio yo me leuâte z pensaua con q̄l noble reposo yo podria restaurar z recobrar las fuerças.

Ends fol. 64 v. tenth line.

z si alguna cosa se fallare conuiniente z conforme asus escriptos sea atribuydo z escripto ala bondat diuinal z asu dotrina z enseañança.

Fyn deo graçias amen.

The large capitals at the beginning of sections and within the text are of red and blue. There are several illuminated pages.

The manuscript consists of 74 folios and includes, besides Boccaccio's treatise, *Basilio dela refformacion dela anima*, and the *Introduccion al libro de platon llamado fedron en q̄ se tracta de coño la muerte no es de temer romãçado por el doctor po dias de toledo*.

The manuscript is a handsome one with two fly-leaves and two blank leaves at the back of parchment. The first leaf of the manuscript proper and occasional folios throughout are also of parchment. A printed slip at the back (of the manuscript) says that it was made for the Marquis of Santillana whose arms appear on the highly illuminated title page. It comes from the library of the Duke of Osuna.

Modern binding of dark blue leather. On the first fly-leaf is written "Volume de 74 feuillets 15 Mars 1889".

3. *Genealogia de los Dioses.*

## 1) Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ii 34.

Incomplete, containing besides the prologue and books 1-5 inclusive (book 5 incomplete) the folios of manuscript preceding the prologue, which begin abruptly :

... en la primera de sus comedias llamada Andria muestra deuserse temer de alguna enfermedad non ser muy lueñe del syn medida gozo.

188 ff. s. f. + 2 preliminary leaves and 2 blank leaves at the end.

275 × 206 mm. Writing fifteenth century ; 2 col.

Prologue begins fol. 4, col. 2 :

Comiença el prologo que Juan bocaçio de çertaldo ffizo al Rey de chipre sobre la genealogia de los dioses de los gentiles que le copilo ⁊ Reduxo en hun volumen.

Muy exçellente ⁊ glorioso ⁊ muy poderoso Rey ⁊ Señor.

Ends : fol. 188 v.

... e los inffiernos es asaber a las cosas viles ⁊ baxas la prudente persona por la fuerça de la eloquençia.

Bound in parchment ; belonged to the library of the Duques de Osuna which was acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional about 1885.

## 2) Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Hh. 31.

Incomplete, containing the prologue, books 1-5 inclusive and part of book 6 ; books 10-13 inclusive + title of book 14. Part of book 5 and the beginning, as well as the end of book 6 are lacking. 288 ff. s. f. + 3 preliminary leaves and 4 blank leaves at the end.

302 × 210 mm. Writing, fifteenth century. MS. begins fol. 1r.

Muy exçelent ⁊ glorioso ⁊ muy poderoso Rey ⁊ Señor.

Book 6 (incomplete) ends :

De Troyo fijo de Erithonio al qual enjendro agaminades ⁊ aylion ⁊ Asaraco &.

Book 10 begins :

Comiença con buena ventura el deseno libro dela genealogia delos dioses

segund Juan bocaçio de certaldo e enel precedente arbol esta Neptuno puesto en la rays e en sus rramas e fojas se pone e se describe toda su posteridad z suçesion. Sigue el prohemio.

MS. ends : fol. 268 v.

fenesce bienaventuradamente el treseno libro de la genealogia delos dioses segund Juan bocacio de certaldo z comiença con buena ventura el quatroseno enel qual el autor fabla z forma sus Razones contra los que son enemigos del poetico nombre z asimismo Responde a las detraçiones de aquellos z a su profaçar || Prologo.

Bound in red leather with two straps and metal clasps to close the book. It proceeds from the library of the Cabildo de Toledo and was acquired in 1870 by the Biblioteca Nacional.

3) Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid VIII-G-4.

Incomplete, containing the prologue, first five books, and the title of the sixth.

227 ff. s. f. Writing, sixteenth century. 303 × 205 mm.

On the second fly-leaf in writing more modern than the text :

Los cinco Libros Primeros de la genealogia de los Dioses de Joan bocacho traducidos...

And again in still more modern writing :

Joan Boccaccio Genealogia delos Dioses los cinco libros Primeros.

Begins fol. 1 recto.

Muy excelente glorioso y muy poderoso rrey z señor.

Ends fol. 277 vº.

Comiença con buena ventura el sexto libro de la genealogia de los dioses segun Juan bocaçio de cercaldo en el arbol precedente en la rrayz del qual se pone dardano decimosesto hijo del segundo Jupiter z discriuese asi en los ramos como en las fojas la generacion del mesmo dardano.

Comiença el prohemio.

Modern binding.

4. *Caida de princíps.*

1) Biblioteca del Escorial iij-e-7.

Incomplete, containing fol. vij-clxij inclusive. 283-202 mm. Writing, fifteenth century.

Begins :

... eçidens. Mas non como señor z poseedor de rreynos z tierras como primero era. E avn este tal soberuio z menospreçiador de dios. (Cf. ch. 4, Bk. I towards the end).

Ends : fol. clxij v.

El rrey seyendo ya lo postrimero de sus dias luego *que* cayo del cauallo (cf. Ch. I, Bk. IX, « Los bretones son asentados etc., beginning).

The foliation throughout is on the verso of the leaves, and up to fol. 83 incl. on the lower right-hand corner of the *recto* as well.

The titles to the chapters are all wanting; the numbering of the same seems by another hand than that of the rest of the ms., but belongs to the same epoch. The ink of the numbering is very pale.

2) Biblioteca del Escorial ij-d-14.

Incomplete, ending in *caplo cxlvij de anulfo pñçiçe delos rromanos*.

332 ff. s. f. + 2 fly-leaves and 2 leaves at back, modern. 299 × 225 mm. Writing, fifteenth century.

Begins : fol. 1 r.

Muchas vezes z por muy luengo tiempo fue mi estudio z mi trabajo, por fazer algunas obras.

Ends : fol. 332 v.

fue tomado por ayuda de vngrario que auia ya fuido en uetona y çegado delos.

Bound in reddish leather with the grill of Saint Laurence upon both sides.

3) Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, V. 320. cclxij ff. + 2 fly leaves one new, one same as ms. and 4 leaves s. f. containing the Tabla; one blank leaf at the end, modern.

270 × 192 mm. 2 col. Writing, fifteenth century.

The Tabla begins :

Cayda de principes || Aqui comiençan las rrubricas d'esta obra llamada los los (*sic*) casos z caydas z acaescimientos muy grandes *que* ouieron muchos nobles omnes en este mundo.

Begins fol. 1 r. with a dedicatory letter to Maginardo, Marshall of Sicily.

The "arenga de Juan Alonso de Zamora is lacking" (cf. *infra* E. 6).

Fol. 1 recto, shows a picture, supposedly of the author instructing or admonishing many princes and prelates grouped about him. Below :

Fasta el dia de oy señor mio muy amado fue çerca de mi puesto gran ocio.

Ends : fol. cclxij r. (chap. clxvij).

mas por la soberania de la fortuna *que* todas las cosas trastorna e rrebuelue. Deo gracias.

The first chapter begins fol. iij verso : "Muchas vezes" etc.

The capitals at the beginnings of the chapters are in red and black.

Bound in parchment.

4) Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Bb. 52.

Incomplete, ending with chap. cxxxiiij (= chap. cxl of V. 320 ; cf. *supra*) and Book IX, chap. 1 of E. 6 ; cf. *infra*) ; xcv ff. + 2 blank fly-leaves and 3 leaves s. f. containing the dedicatory letter to Maginardo (1 col. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of page 1) and the Tabla (the rest of the first leaf, the second and third leaves and four lines of leaf four). The foliation begins on the fourth leaf with the first chapter ("Muchas vezes" etc.).

The ms. contains besides at the end 9 ff. of another work and two blank leaves.

I. H. S. || Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gracia Amen || Aqui comiença vn libro *que* presento vn doctor famoso dela cibdat de Florençia llamado iohan bocaçio de çercaldo a vn Cauallero su amigo *que* auia nombre maginardo Mariscal de la rreyna de Sezilla en el qual se cuentan las caydas  $\tau$  los abaxamientos *que* ouieron de sus estados en este mundo muchos  $\tau$  nobles  $\tau$  grandes omnes por *que* los omnes non se ensoberuezcan con los abondamientos de la fortuna.

Begins :

Fasta el dia de oy señor y amigo muy amado fue acerca de mi puesto grant ocio.

Ends : fol. xcvi r.

*Que non ouo vergueña de otra vez tornar a batalla contra el Rey artur su padre.*

The initial capitals of the first two paragraphs and of chap. 1 are in black and red ; those of the other chapters are in red.

The "arenga" of Juan Alonso de Zamora is lacking (cf. V. 320 *supra*; and E. 6 *infra*).

Binding of reddish paper with a leather back.

5) Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ff. 278.

213 ff. s. f. + 2 fly leaves and 13 blank leaves at the end.

307 × 217 mm. Writing, fifteenth century ; 2 cols.

Signatures : aj-avij, bj-bvj, cj-cvj, dj-dvj, ej-evj, fj-fvj, gj-gvj, hj-hvj, yj-yvj, lj-lvj, mj-mvj, oj-ovj, pj-pvij, rj-rvj, řj-řvj, sj-svij.

Tabla, fol. aj. r. 2 cols.

Aqui comienza las Rubricas desta obra llamada los casos e caydas e Acaesçimientos muy *contrarios* que ouieron muchos nobles omnes en este mundo.

The tabla occupies folios aj, aij, and a quarter of aiij r. On the same column follows immediately.

Aqui comienza el libro de maestre iuan bocacio decercaldo *que* embio a vn noble cauallero su Amigo que era llamado maginardo de florençia, mariscal del reyno de Seçilia. Capitulo primero del prologo e proemio del primero libro de iuan bocaçio :

Muchas vezes e por muy luengo tiempo.

Ms. ends, fol. 213 recto :

Mas por la soberania de la fortuna que todas las cosas trastorno e rrebuelue.  
finito libro deo *gracias*.

The dedicatory letter to Maginardo and the "Prologo y Arenga de Juan Alonzo de Zamora" are not contained in this ms. (cf. V. 320, Bb. 52, *supra*, and E. 6 *infra*).

Bound in parchment.

6) Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid E. 6 (955).

193 ff. + 2 fly leaves, + 6 leaves s. f. containing (2 cols) the :

Tabla del presente libro llamado Caida de Principes ; y tiene diez libros

(4 ff.); and the Prologo y arenga de Juan Alonso de Zamora Secretario del Rey de Castilla sobre la presente obra (2 ff.).

On one of the fly leaves is written in writing more modern than that of the body of the ms.

Caidas de Principes por Bocacio. Traducido por D. Pedro Lopez de Ayala y por el Dean de Santiago el Dr. Alfosso Gracia (*sic*), Sacado a luz Año de 1422 Por Juan Alonso de Zamora Secretario del Rei D. Juan el 2º.

Begins fol. 1.

Prologo de Yoan Bocaçio de sercaldo Florentino dirigido a un cauallero su amigo llamado Maginardo mariscal de la Reina Desisilia en el qual se cuentan las caidas y los abaxamientos que huuieron de sus estados eneste mundo muchos nobles y grandes caualleros : Por que los hombres non se ensoberuezcan con los abondamientos de la Fortuna.

Hasta el dia de oy señor mio muy amado : fue aserca de mi pensamiento gran osio.

Ends fol 193 r.

Mas por la Soueruia de la fortuna que todas las cossas trastorna y rrcuelue. Deogracias.

Below :

Fue impresso el presente libro llamado Caida de principes en Alcala de henares en casa de Juan brocar que sancta gloria aia a ocho dias del mes de agosto Año de MD.LII.

Bound in parchment.

As is evident from the colophon, this ms. is copied from the edition of 1552.

7) Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, IV-C.-3.

302 ff. s. f. + one fly leaf.

280 × 210 mm. Writing fifteenth century. 2 cols.

The dedicatory letter to Maginardo and the « Prologo y arenga de Juan Alonso de Zamora » are wanting (cf. *supra*, V. 320, Bb. 52, Ff. 278, and E 6).

Begins fol. 1 r.

Capitulo primero en el qual se pone (*sic*) z comienço deste libro.

Muchas vezes z por muy luengo tiempo...

Ends fol. 302 vº.

Capitulo — de algunos querellosos que se querellauan en la conclusion deste libro.

The end of this chapter is lacking; the last words in the ms. are :

E de buena mente ante desto enxeria entre las cosas pasadas z entre los otros a sancho Rey de mayorcas z llorauan que por obra.

## II. Editions.

### 1. *Fiameta*<sup>1</sup>.

1) La *Fiometa* de || Juan Vocacio.

*Colophon* : Fue impresso e la muy noble e leal ciudad || de Salamanca en el mes de enero del año || de mill q̄trōciētos z nouenta e siete años. || Deo gratias. ||

On the *verso* of the title-page :

Aqui comienza el libro intitulado *Fiameta* compuesto por Juan Vocacio, poeta florentino. El qual libro es parido en nueue partes desta manera.

Text begins sig. aij :

Suele a los mis'os cracer de dolerse reposo.

Fol. g. l. 2 cols. 44 leaves s. f. Sig. a-h, all of which have six leaves except g and h. which have four.

No capitals except the *S* with wich the text begins (I have not seen this book).

2) Libro llamado *Fiameta* || por q̄ trata d'los amores d'vna notable || dueña napolitana llamada *Fiameta* el || q̄l libro cōpuso el famoso Juan vocacio || poeta florētino : va cōpuesto por sutil y || elegāte estilo. Da aētēder muy pticula || izadamēte los effectos q̄ haze el amor || enlos años ocupados d'passiões enamo || radas.

1. Cf. Brunet, Manuel du libraire, tome I. Paris 1860. Col. 1010; also *Supplément*, 1878, tome I, p. 142, col. 2.

Escudero y Perosso: *Tipografía Hispalense Anales Bibliográficas de la ciudad de Sevilla*. Madrid, 1894, p. 155, n° 229.

Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. I, nos 719, 720, 721.

Haebler, *l. c.*, n° 55.

Mendez-Hidalgo, *Tipografía*. Madrid, 1861, p. 360, n° 8.

Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. II, nos 1534, 1535, 1536.



Lo q̄ les d'grā puecho por el aui || so que enello se da en tal caso. ||

*Colophon*: Fenesce el libro de fiameta compuesto por el famoso || poeta Juā vocacio fue impresso enla muy no || ble y leal ciudad d'Seuilla por Jacobo || Cröberger aleman, acabose en diez y ocho dias d'agosto. Año d'l || señor de mil z quinien || tos y veynte y tres || Años ✠.

On the verso of the title page is the index, and the text begins on the following page, sig. aij.

Text ends on the verso of the sixth leaf of sig. h; fol. g. l. 2 cols. (I have not seen this book, nor have I been able at the Bib. Nac. in Madrid to obtain any information concerning the copy of it which, according to the statement of Escudero (*l. c.*, p. 155, n° 229), exists in that library.)

3) Libro llamado Fiameta || porque trata delos amores de vna notable || dueña napolitana llamada Fiameta el || qual compuso el famoso Juan voca || cio poeta florentino : va compue || sto por sutil y elegante estilo || Da a entender muy parti || cularizadamente los || efectos que || haze || el amor en los || animos ocupados de pasiones enamora || das Lo qual es de gran po || uecho por el auiso q̄ || enello se da en || tal ca || so. || 1541 || (In red and black.)

*Colophon*: Fenece el libro de Fiameta cōpuesto por el famoso || poeta Juā bocacio | fue impresso enla muy no || ble y leal ciudad de Lixboa por Luys || Rodriguez librero d'l Rey ñro || señor. Acabose a xij dias || d'Deziēbre Año || d' M. d. xl. || y vno. || (verso of 7<sup>th</sup> leaf of sig. l.)

On the verso of the title-page :

Aqui comiença el libro intitulado Fiameta com || puesto por Juan vocacio poeta florētino. El qual libro es partido en nueue capitulos o mas verdaderamente nueue partes desta manera.

The index of the chapters follows.

Fol. 2 v. and part of 3 r. are occupied by the Prologue, which is followed by *Capitu primero*, also on fol. 3 r. (b iij).

87 ff. s. f., l. g., 34 lines to the page; 190×136 mill., sig. biiij (fol. 3), aiiij (fol. 4), and b-l, all of eight leaves except the last which has seven. Salvá says that sig. l. has also eight leaves, on the last of which is only the printer's mark. This leaf is lacking in the copy owned by the Bib. Nac., which comes from the library of Don Pascual de Gayangos (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. R. 13129).

2. *Las treze questiones*<sup>1</sup>.

1) ¶ Laberinto de A | mor: q̄ hizo ē tosca || no el famoso Juã || bocacio: agora || nueuamēte tra || duzido en nue || stra engua || castella || na. || ✠ || Año de || M. D. xlvj. || *colophon* : (verso of leaf 12 of sig. e).

¶ Fue impresso este tratado ēla muy || noble τ muy leal ciudad de Seuilla: en casa de || Andres de Burgos impressor de libros A = || cabose a tres dias del mes de Agosto Año || del nacimiento de nuestro Saluador || Jesu Cristo de mil τ quinientos || y quarenta y seys.

Text begins sig aij :

Comiençan treze quistiones.

4<sup>o</sup>-g. l. — Signatures a-e, all of 8 leaves except the last, which has twelve (I have not seen this book; Escudero [*l. c.*, p. 213] says that Durán owned a copy of it).

2) ¶ Treze questiones || muy graciosas sacadas de Philoculo del famo || so Juan Bocacio traduzidas de lengua Tosca = || na en

1. Cf. Brunet, *l. c.*, *Supplément*, tome I, p. 142, col. 2.

Escudero, *l. c.*, p. 213, n<sup>o</sup> 472.

Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. I, n<sup>o</sup> 811.

Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Toledo*. Madrid, 1887, p. 93, n<sup>o</sup> 234.

Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. II, n<sup>o</sup> 1537 and note.

nuestro Romance Castellano con mucha || elegancia y primor.  
1549. *Colophon* : (verso of 8<sup>th</sup> leaf of sig. e.)

¶ Impresso en la imperial ciudad || de Toledo en casa de Juan de Ayala. || Año. M. D. xlix. ||

Sig. a ij : Blasco de Garay al lector.

Entrando cierto dia entre otros a visitar y besar las manos-

Sig. a iij ¶ Comiençan treze questiones tradu||zidas de la lengua Toscana en Española.

¶ (same sig.) Siguese la obra.

ANDando Filoculo hijo del rey Felis de España.

40 ff. s. f. — 135×184 mill. Sig. a-e all of which have 8 leaves. — l-g. 35 lines to the page (Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, VIII K-9).

3) Bound with the *Question de Amor*. The *Treze Questiones* begin sig. o (fol. 105).

Al Lector. || Entrando cierto dia entre otros a uisitar, y besar las manos.

Sig. oij (fol. 106).

Comiençan || treze questiones mvy graciosas sacadas del || Philoculo del || famoso Ivan Bocaccio || traduzidas de lengua Thoscana en nuestro || Romance Castellano con mucha || elegancia y primor.

Sig. oij verso. Siguese la obra.

The text of the *Treze questiones* ends fol. 155 r. (sig. v.iiij).

Con determinacion de embarcar y partirse luego a buscar a su amiga Blancaflor. || Fin.

Fol. 155 v., 158 r. Introductione che mostra il signor Alfonso de Vlioa a proferire la lingva castigliana.

Fol. 158 verso : Printers mark ; below :

Imprimiò se en Venetia en casa de Gabriel Giolito de || Ferrariis, y svv herma || nos, MDLIIIJ.

8°-let. curs — ff. 158 plus 4 preliminary leaves s. f. 151×110 mill. Sig. A1J-v. all have eight leaves. The last two leaves of v. are blank.

(Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. R. 2391.)

3. *Las Mugerres illustres*<sup>1</sup>.

1) « Johan bocacio || de las mujeres illu || stres en romãce » ||.

Sig. aij (fol. II r.):

Comiença el tractado de || johan bocaçio de certaldo, poeta flo || rëtin d'las claras | excellêtes y mas fa=mosas z señaladas damas: adreçado || ala mu illustre señora | doña andrea || de acchiarolis condessa de alta villa.

El prohemio del auctor.

Fol. cvi recto, printer's mark which bears the words: "Memorare nouissima tua In omnibus operibus tuis". Below, the colophon:

¶ La presente obra fue acabada en la insigne z muy noble ciudad || de Caragoça de Aragon: por industria z expensas de Paulo hurus Aleman de Còstancia a xxiiij dias del mes de octubre: en el año || dela humana saluacion. Mil quatrocientos nouenta z

★ quatro. ||

ff. cx (the last two both marked cix) including the title page s. f., and four of the *Tabla* at the end.

263×194 mill. — 1. g. — 2 cols. — 42 lines to the page. Sig. aij-p. a, b, d, f, h, k, l, n, o, p, have each eight leaves; c, e, g, i, m, 6 each.

No fly leaves; one blank leaf at the end.

Many of the chapters begin with capitals; others with small letters in the places left for capitals. Illustrated with wood-cuts.

(Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, I 601.)

2) Title-page: The upper three fourths are occupied by four small wood-cuts. Below:

1. Cf. Brunet, *l. c.*, vol. I, col. 791.

Escudero, *l. c.*, p. 167, n° 270.

Gallardo, *l. c.*, vol. II, nos 1406, 1407.

Haebler, *l. c.*, n° 52.

Hortis, A. *Studj sulle opere latine di Giovanui Boccacci*. Trieste, 1879, p. 897.

Mendez-Hidalgo, *l. c.*, p. 70, n° 17, p. 313.

Salvá, *l. c.*, vol. II, n° 1716.

Libro de Juã bocacio que || tracta delas illustres || Mugerres.

Fol. ij r :

Juan bocacio delas illustres mugeres. ||

☉ Comiença el libro de Juan bocacio de certal || do poeta florentin delas claras | excellentes y mas famosas τ señaladas da || mas : dirigido ala muy illustre señora doña Andrea de acchiarolis con || dessa de alta villa.

☉ Prohemio del auctor.

Colophon ; fol. LXXXVI verso :

☐ La presente obra fue acabada enla isigne τ muy || noble ciudad de Seuilla por industria y expensas de Jacobo cromberger || aleman a xxii dias del mes de Junio : enel año dela humana saluacion || mil τ quinientos y veynte ocho.

LXXXVI ff. † 3 of Tabla at the end of the book and in 2 cols. — l. g. — 41 lines to a page.

263×192 mill. Sig. Aij-lv, of eight leaves each except the last which has nine.

1 fly leaf; 2 blank leaves at the end<sup>1</sup>.

(Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid VII-K-3.)

#### 4. *Cayda de Principes*<sup>2</sup>.

*Portada*: A wood engraving which represents Fortune turning her wheel. On top of the wheel sits a king with the legend: *Reino*. To his left, is the figure of a king trying to climb the wheel, with the legend: *Reinare*. The figure to his rights represents a king falling from the wheel; legend, *Reine*, and at the bottom of the picture lies a fallen ruler to whom belong the words: *Sin Reino so*.

1. The Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, also owns a copy of the edition of 1528.

2. Cf. Brunet, *l. c.*, tome I, col. 989.

Escudero y Perosso, *l. c.*, p. 91, nº 45.

Haebler, *l. c.*, nº 53.

Mendez-Hidalgo, *l. c.*, pp. 97-98, nº 49.

Pérez Pastor, p. 32, nº 48.

Beneath the picture, in large Gothic letters is the title : Cayda de Principes.

Colophon : f. CXLIX v<sup>o</sup>.

A loor z alabãça de dios to || do poderoso : z dela immaculata soberana rey || na del cielo virgen sancta Maria madre su- || ya. E en enxemplo z castigo de todos los gran || des Emperadores Reyes Señores z Seño = || ras que sobre la haz dela tyerra eneste circular orbe dominan : cuyos señorios no pueden exce = || der de passar por tal via como los tales sean so = || juzgados ala mayor parte so el desordenado poder dela fortuna z su rueda. Finido z acaba || do fue el presente libro llamado Cayda delos || principes. Impresso enla muy noble z muy le = || al cibdad de Seuilla por Meynardo vngut || Alleman : z Lançalao polono compañeros a. || xxii. del mes de deziembre. Año del Señor de mill || z quatrocientos z nouenta z cinco años || Finis || Printer's mark.

Verso of the title page blank.

Fol. j missing. Text begins f. ij :

ser eneste mundo conel ayuda de dios.

Text ends f. CXLIX r<sup>o</sup> col. b.

mas por la soberuia dela forttnna : que todas las cosas trastorna e rebuelue. Deo gracias.

El libro es acabado.

Nuestro señor sea loado. Amen.

CXLIX folios + 3 of *Tabla* s. f. — l. g. — two columns, 45 lines to a col. Signatures : a-tiiij, all originally of eight leaves except s, which had six. Gathering *a* lacks the first and last leaves (ff. j and viij.) ; gathering *k* lacks the last leaf (f. LXXX) ; gathering *s* lacks the first leaf (f. CXXVIJ), gathering *t* lacks the last leaf (blank).

Folios XLIV is marked XLV ; f. LXXIV is marked LXXIJ ; f. CXXIX is marked CXXXJ.

Fol. xxxix, col. 2. has set in at the bottom in ms. the last four lines of *cap.* xxi; the title of *cap.* xxiij. and nine line of the

text of *cap.* xxij. The corresponding portions on the verso of the folio are : the end of *cap.* xxij and the words : Feneçe : el següdo libro.

No fly leaves or blank leaves at the end of the book.

(Bib. Nac. Madrid. I 1326.)

With this book is bound an exemplar of Boccaccio's *Las illustres mujeres*, Zaragoza 1494 ; complete except for folios xciii, ciii and the last leaf of the Tabla (s. f.), which are missing.

2) Title-page : An engraving representing Fortune turning her wheel ; below this picture which occupies 4/5 of the page the title in large Gothic letters : Cayda de principes.

On the verso of this folio :

☞ Comiença el Arenga que hizieron ⁊ ordenaron Jhuan alfonso de çamora secretario de nuestro señor el rey d' Castilla. Y el muy reuerendo ⁊ sabio varon el doctor Jhuan garçia dean en las yglesias de santiago : ⁊ Segovia : ⁊ oydor dela audiencia de nuestro señor el rey : ⁊ de su consejo. E comiença assi : La q̄l dicha Arenga hordenarò sobre el libro de Juã bocacio.

Fol. I. (sig. a).

☞ Aquí comiença vn libro : que presento vn doctor famoso dela cibdad de Florencia : llamado Juan bocacio de cercaldo a vn cauallero su amigo : que auia nombre Maginardo mariscal dela Reyna de Sicilia : enel qual se cuentan las caydas ⁊ los abaxamientos q̄ ouieron de sus estados eneste mundo muchos nobles ⁊ grandes caualleros : por q̄ los hombres no se ensoberuezcan con los abòdamientos dela fortuna.

Prologo.

Fasta el dia de oy señor mio muy amado : fue acerca de mi pēsamiento grand ocio.

Colophon f. cxxviij, b.

☞ A loor y alabança de dios todo poderoso : ⁊ de la immaculada soberana reyna del cielo virgen sancta Maria madre suya. Y en enxemplo ⁊ castigo de todos los grandes Emperadores Reyes señores ⁊ señoras que sobre la haz de la tierra eneste circular orbe dominan : cuyos señorios no pueden exceder de pasar por tal via, como los tales sean sojuzgados a la mayor parte so el desordenado poder d' la fortüa ⁊ su rueda : Finido ⁊ acabado fue

el presente libro llamado cayda de los principes. Impresso en la muy noble e imperial cibdad de Toledo. Año de nuestra saluacion de Mill e quinientos e onze años A. xvij dias del mes de setiembre.

¶ Finis.

cxxvij ff. + 4 s. f. containing the « Arenga » of Juan Alfonso de Zamora and the *Tabla*; and three blank fly-leaves also of old paper.

l. g. — 283×202 mill., 2 cols., 49 lines to the page. Sig. a-qiij all of eight leaves, the last leaf of q being blank. (Biblioteca del Escorial, 33-1-25).

3) The title page contains a picture of Fortune turning her wheel; below :

« Libro llamado Cayda de Principes. || Compuesto por el famoso varon Juan Bocacio || de Certaldo florentino. En el qual se cuentan las caydas || y los abaxamientos que ouieron de sus estados en este || mundo muchos nobles y grandes caualleros: || para exemplo que los hombres no se enso || beruezcan con las prosperidades || de la fortuna, || M. D. L.II. || Venden se en casa de Adrian Ghemart en Medina del Campo. ||

On the verso of the title-page :

¶ Prologo de Juan Bocacio de Certaldo, Floren || tino; dirigido aun cauallero su amigo llamado Ma || ginaro Mariscal de la rey = || na de Sicilia.

Hasta el dia d'oy Señor mio muy amado: fue acerca de mi pèsamiento grã ocio.

Colophon fol cXLIIJ r.

¶ Fue impresso el presente libro llamado || Cayda de Principes en Alcalá de Henares || en casa de Juan de Brocar que sancta || gloria aya. A ocho dias del mes || de Agosto. Año de || MD.L.II.

cXLIIJ ff. + 5 containing the prologues of Zamora and Boccaccio and the *Tabla*; l. g., 2 cols.

286×200 mill., 46 lines to the page.

Sig. xij, xiij, xiiij, A-S, all of eight leaves except the first, which has six.

(Biblioteca de Palacio VII-Ll-2).



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VITA

I was born in Peoria, Illinois, June 4<sup>th</sup> 1871, and received my early education in Peoria, and in France and Germany.

I was prepared by the Peoria High School for college, and was graduated from Smith College in 1893. From 1893-1897 I taught in secondary schools.

The year 1897-98 I spent abroad, chiefly in Paris, where I followed lecture courses at the Sorbonne and Collège de France. From 1898-99, I held the resident fellowship in Romance at Bryn Mawr College; from 1899-1900 I was student at Bryn Mawr, and the following year went to Madrid as the Mary E. Garrett European Fellow, returning to Bryn Mawr for the year 1901-1902.

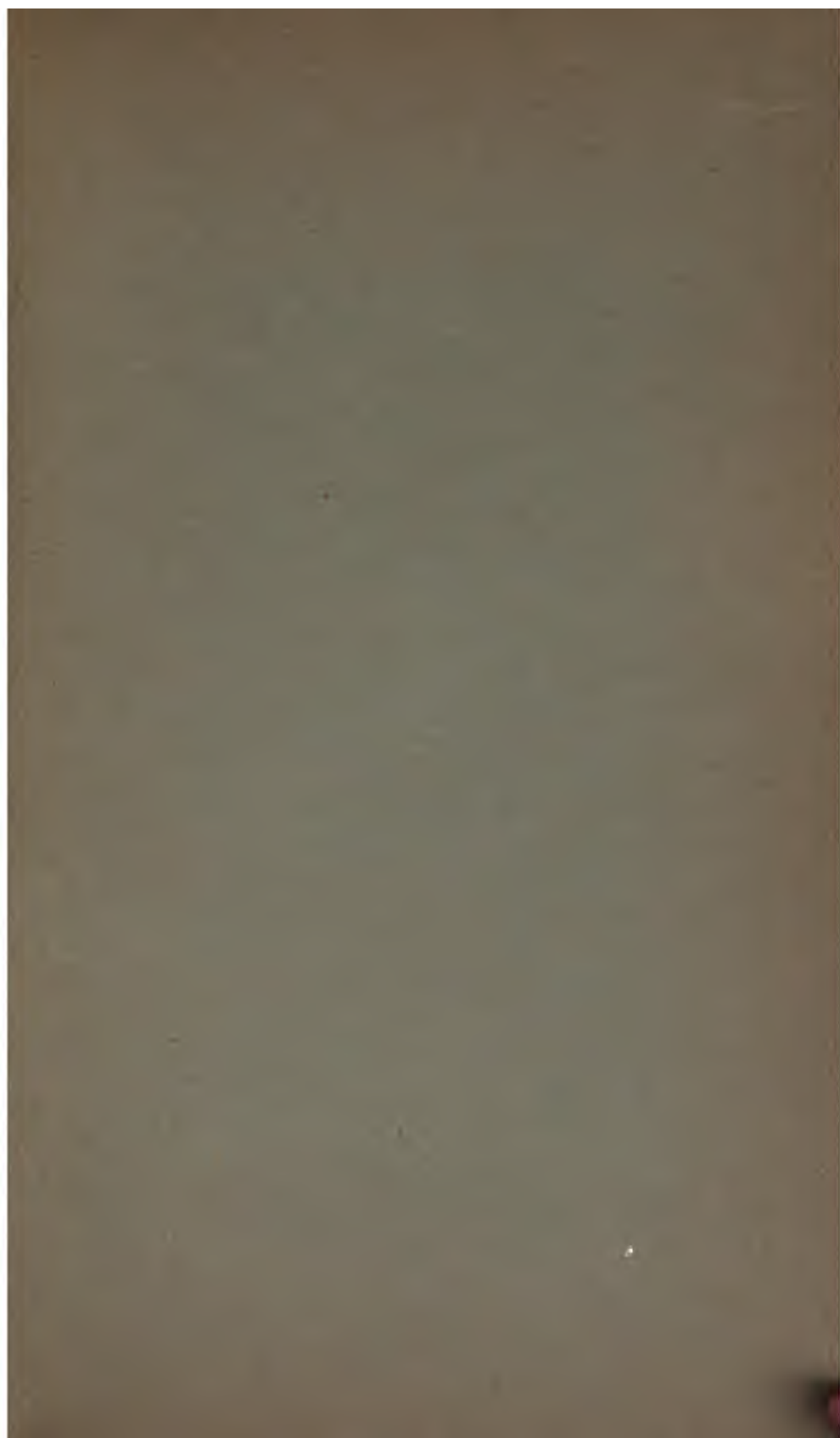
My studies at Bryn Mawr were carried on under Dr. Fonger De Haan and Dr. Louis E. Menger; in Madrid I had the privilege of doing some private work under the direction of Mr. Menéndez Pidal.

My oral examination for the degree of Ph. D. was held at Bryn Mawr, May 31, 1902; my major subject was Spanish; first minor: Old French (literature and Philology); second minor: Italian (Literature and Philology).

I am glad to take this opportunity gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness to the instructors under whom my studies were pursued. I wish especially to express my thanks to Dr. F. De Haan for his untiring and helpful interest in my work.

CAROLINE BROWN BOURLAND.





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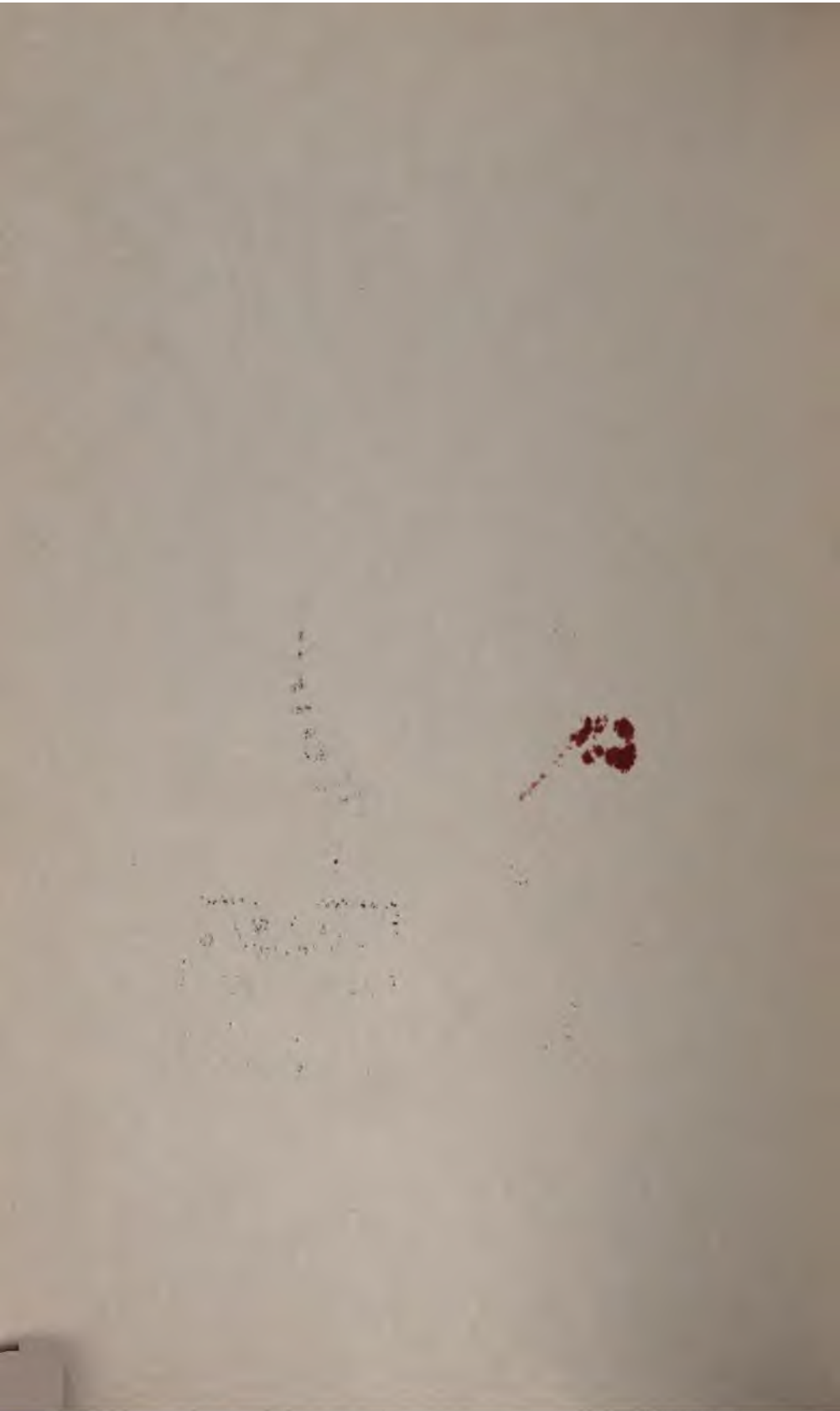
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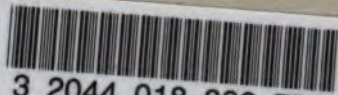












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